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(Translations of the three Inscriptions  
on the Cover.)

*1. Arabic.*

“These are our works which prove  
what we have done;  
Look, therefore, at our works  
when we are gone.”

*2. Turkish.*

“His genius cast its shadow o’er the world,  
And in brief time he much achieved and  
wrought:  
The Age’s Sun was he, and ageing suns  
Cast lengthy shadows, though their time be  
short.”

(*Kemál Páská-zádé.*)

*3. Persian.*

“When we are dead, seek for our  
resting-place  
Not in the earth, but in the  
hearts of men.”

(*Jalálu ’d-Dín Rúmí.*)



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*(All communications respecting this volume should be addressed to Professor E. G. Browne, Pembroke College, Cambridge, who is the Trustee specially responsible for its production.)*



# THE TA'RIKH-I-GUZIDA

OR

"SELECT HISTORY"

OF

HAMDU'LLAH MUSTAWFI  
-I-QAZWINI

COMPILED IN A.H. 730 (A.D. 1330) AND NOW  
ABRIDGED IN ENGLISH FROM A MANUSCRIPT DATED  
A.H. 857 (A.D. 1453)

BY

EDWARD G. BROWNE,

WITH INDICES OF THE FAC-SIMILE TEXT

BY

R. A. NICHOLSON.

PART II, CONTAINING THE ABRIDGED  
TRANSLATION AND INDICES.

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- The Ráhatu's-Şudúr wa Áyatu's-Surúr, a history of the Seljúqs, by Najmu'd-Dín Abú Bakr Muḥammad ar-Ráwandí, edited from the unique Paris MS. (Suppl. persan, 1314) by Edward G. Browne.*

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*The Funds of this Memorial are derived from the Interest accruing from a Sum of money given by the late MRS. GIBB of Glasgow, to perpetuate the Memory of her beloved son.*

*ELIAS JOHN WILKINSON GIBB,*

*and to promote those researches into the History, Literature, Philosophy and Religion of the Turks, Persians, and Arabs to which, from his Youth upwards, until his premature and deeply lamented Death in his forty-fifth year, on December 5, 1901, his life was devoted.*

تِلْكَ آثَارُنَا تَدُلُّ عَلَيْنَا \* فَانْظُرُوا بَعْدَنَا إِلَى الْآثَارِ

*"The worker pays his debt to Death;  
His work lives on, nay, quickeneth."*

*The following memorial verse is contributed by 'Abdu'l-Haqq Hâmid Bey of the Imperial Ottoman Embassy in London, one of the Founders of the New School of Turkish Literature, and for many years an intimate friend of the deceased.*

جمله یارانی وفاسیله ایدرکن تطیب  
کندی عمرنه وفا گورمدی اول ذاتِ ادیب  
گنج ایکن اولش ابدی اوج کماله واصل  
نه اولوردی یاشامش اولسه ایدی مستر گیب



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## PREFACE.

In the Preface to the companion volume of the present work, which contains the *fac-simile* of a MS. of the *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida* brought from Persia in the summer of 1907 by my friend Mîrzâ 'Abdu 'l-Husayn Khân *Wahîdu 'l-Mulk*, I announced my intention (p. xvi) of discussing in this volume with greater fulness the various questions connected with this history and its author. Now, however that this volume, which contains an abridged translation of the text, together with the Indices necessary for the convenient use of the latter, is ready for publication, I find that I am not in a position to add anything of importance on these questions to what has been already published or referred to in the previous volume; and all that now appears necessary is that I should briefly explain its structure and production.

This volume consists of two parts, the English Abstract of Contents or Abridged Translation of the text, occupying 237 pages; and the Persian Indices to the text, which were omitted from the previous volume, to which they properly belong, in order to avoid increasing its already considerable bulk (854 + 20 pages).

The Indices are entirely the work of my friend and colleague Dr. R. A. Nicholson, who undertook the laborious task of constructing them with his usual kindness, and has carried it out with his customary thoroughness. They are four in number, *viz.*:

- (1) Index of persons mentioned in the text, both men and women (pp. 5—182).
- (2) Index of *nisbas* (pp. 183—224).

- (3) Index of place names and tribal names (pp. 225—277).
- (4) Index of books cited or referred to in the text (pp. 278—286).

Dr. Nicholson has been kind enough to write a short note explaining the principles which have guided him in the construction of these Indices, rendered the more difficult by the scribe's errors which mar the text reproduced in the *fac-simile*, and this note is added at the end of the Preface.

For the Abridged Translation, or Abstract of Contents, I must assume entire responsibility, though I have received the most valuable help from my learned friend Mírzá Muḥammad of Qazwín, to whom each proof was submitted and by him returned with many important corrections, observations and annotations, which have been for the most part incorporated in the text or in foot-notes. In making such an Abstract it is very difficult to avoid being swayed by personal predilections and idiosyncrasies, and I am conscious that I may have unduly compressed such portions of the work as appeared to me less interesting, and, on the other hand, unduly expanded other portions which seemed to me of greater interest. The thick numbers in brackets occurring throughout the Translation indicate the pages of the *fac-simile* contained in the first volume, and it is these which must be regarded when the Persian Indices are employed in connection with the English Abstract.

My attention has been called to an unfortunate error in the *fac-simile*, occurring between pp. 226 and 231, which, owing, probably, to the adhesion of two leaves of the original MS., has resulted in the complete omission of pp. 227 and 228, and the insertion twice over of pp. 229 and 230. The text of the omitted pages is as follows:

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سعيد بن العاص الاموى امير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضى الله عنه  
(p. 227) روايت كرد كه زنى جامه پيش رسول عليه الصلوة و السلام

آورد و گفت نذر کرده‌ام که جامهٔ بکریم ترین جوانی از اعراب دم پیغمبر علیه السلام گفت بدین جوان ده یعنی سعید بن العاص، سعد بن خثیمه بن الحارث الانصاری الأوسی عقبی بدری، سعد بن خوله از بنی عامر بن لوی بدری مهاجری بود، سعد بن زید بن مالک الأشجلی الانصاری بدری، سلیم بن ملحان برادر حرام بن ملحان بود خال انس بن مالک از بنی النجار الخزرجی، سعید ابو عبد الرحمن مولی رسول الله صلی الله علیه و سلم نام او رومان بلخی بود او را بخريد و آزاد کرد بشرط آنکه خدمت پیغمبر کند در سنری انتقال منزلگاه میکرد پیغمبر صلی الله علیه و سلم او را سنینه لقب کرد، سکران بن عمرو برادر سلیط بن عمرو بود قدیم الاسلام است از مهاجران حبشه و آنجا نماند زن او سوده بنت زمعه بعد از او در حباله رسول صلی الله علیه و سلم آمد، سلمان فارسی ابو عبد الله سابق اهل فارس و اصفهان باسلام از مولی رسول بود پیغمبر علیه الصلوة والسلام در حق او فرمود منّا اهل البیت اصلش از اصفهان بقریه جی بود نامش مابه بن نودخشان بن مورسلان بن نهبوذان بن فیروز بن شهرک از نسب منوچهر بجهت طلب دین دران ملک کاری از دستش بیرون آمد مجال اقامتش نبود بگریخت و بشام افتاد بدیر راهبی از دین گبری بدین ترسائی نقل کرد و درآن ملک نیز حادثه افتادش به بندگی بمدینه افتاد بدست جهودی نامش عثمان بن اسهل چون پیغمبر علیه الصلوة والسلام بمدینه هجرت فرمود در سال اول او را از آن جهود بجهل اوقیه زر و سیصد فیل نخل بخريد و آزاد کرد و بازادی او عهدی نوشت بخط امیر المؤمنین علی کرّم الله وجهه این نسخه آنست: - بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم (p. 228) هذا ما افد (فدی به؟) محمد بن عبد الله سلمان الفارسی من عثمان بن الاسهل اليهودی ثم القوطی (القُرطی؟) القرشی علی ثلاثائة نخلة و أربعین اوقیه من الذهب بئدی (فدیة؟) من محمد بن عبد الله لثمن سلمان الفارسی و ولّاه لمحمد بن عبد الله و اهل بئته و لا سیل لأحد علی سلمان شهید علی

ذلك أبو بكر بن أبي قحافة و عمر بن الخطاب و علي بن أبي طالب و حذيفة بن اليمان و أبو داود و أبو ذر الغفاري و مقداد بن أسود و بلال مولى أبي بكر و عبد الرحمن، كتب علي بن أبي طالب في جمادى الأول سنة هجر محمد، و سلمان را برادرزاده بود نام او ماهان بن فرخ بن بدخشان و تخم بشيراز است اکنون اکابر فارس اند و بسلمانیان مشهور و عهدی دارند بخط امیر المؤمنین علی رضی الله عنه بر ادیم سفید نوشته و مهر انگشتری پیغمبر صلی الله علیه و سلم و ابو بكر و عمر و عثمان رضی الله عنهم بر آن نهاده و این نسخه آنست: - بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ، هذا كتاب من محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم سألته سلمان وصية [له] و هامان بن فرخ و اهل بيته و محبة من بعد ما تناسلوا من أسلم منهم و أقام على دينه سلم الله احمد لك الذي أمرني أن أقول لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له لقولنا و أمر الناس بها و ان الخلق خلق الله و الأمر كله لله خلقهم و هو ينشروهم (sic) و اليه المصير و ان أمر نزول كل شيء بيد و معنى و كل نفس ذائقة الموت من آمن بالله و رسوله كان له في الآخرة دعة الفنايزين و من أقام على دينه تركناه فلا إكراه في الدين فهذا الكتاب من اهل بيت سلمان لهم ذمة الله و ذمتي على دمائهم و أموالهم في الأرض التي يقيمون فيها نسلها و خيلها و مراعيها و عيونها غير مظلومين ولا قضاء عليهم فمن يغير (يقراء؟) عليه كتابي هذا من المؤمنين و المؤمنات فعليه أن يحطهم (يعظمهم؟) و بكرهم (p. 229) و يسرهم و لا يتعرض لهم آخ

In conclusion, the aim of this volume is to serve as a guide for the English student of Oriental history to one of the more ancient and reputable historical manuals which are so popular in Persia, and if it fulfils in this respect somewhat the same function as Major David Price's old but still useful *Retrospect*, I shall be well satisfied.

EDWARD G. BROWNE.

Cambridge, August 10, 1913.

## NOTE ON THE INDICES.

It may be helpful to those using the Indices if I state the method of arrangement which I have adopted. Since no difficulties are likely to arise in connection with the names of places, tribes, or books, my remarks on this point will refer almost exclusively to the First Index, which contains the names of persons.

- (1) The definite article *ال* and the words *ابن*, *ام*, *ابو*, *بنت*, are ignored. Thus, *العزیز بالله* is placed under *ع*, and *ابو مخد* under *م*.
- (2) Names consisting of a proper noun followed by a *nisba* *e.g.*, *عطار طوسی*, are placed under the initial letter of the noun.
- (3) Names consisting of a *kunya* followed by a *nisba e.g.*, *ابو حنیفہ دینوری*, are usually placed under the initial letter of the second word in the *kunya*.
- (4) Names consisting of a *kunya* followed by a proper noun, *e.g.*, *ابو عبد اللہ احمد بن مجبی*, are usually placed under the initial letter of the noun, whether a *nisba* follows or not; but sometimes they are placed under the *kunya*, for special reasons: thus *ابو بکر محمد بن علی* will be found under *ب*, because he is commonly known as *ابو بکر کتانی*. Many names of this kind occur in the Index twice, *viz.*, under the *kunya* and also under the proper noun.

As a rule, the names are printed in the Indices just as they stand in the *fac-simile*. A large number of them are corrupt, and many are written so defectively that it was not easy — in some instances I found it impossible — to decipher them. Some obvious mistakes have been corrected and the true reading has frequently been determined by reference to Ibn Hishám, Ṭabarí, Ibn al-Athír and other authorities, but no attempt has been made to control and verify the names systematically. This must be left for the first Editor of the *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida*, and I do not envy him the task.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

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## ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS OF THE

### TA'RÍKH-I-GUZÍDA.

Praise of God (1—2) and of the Prophet and his family (3). The Author, Ḥamdu'lláh Aḥmad b. Abí Bakr b. Naṣr, the *Mustawfi* (State accountant) of Qazwín, describes how he imbibed a taste for historical studies from the late minister Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, in whose service he had been, and who was constantly surrounded by men of learning (3—4), until at length, notwithstanding his lack of early training in literature and historical science, he began to compose a great historical poem [the *Zafar-náma*, a supplement to the *Sháh-náma* of Firdawsí] <sup>1)</sup>, giving an account of the history of the world from the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad down to his own times. Of this poem, designed to contain 75,000 verses, he had already composed more than 50,000 verses (4—5), and it was his intention to dedicate it, when completed, to Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad, the worthy son and successor of his late patron the deceased minister Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh (5—6). Having recited the titles and praised the virtues of his patron, and apologized for the unworthiness of his offering (7), he proceeds to enumerate the principal sources of information used for the compilation of this present manual of history, which are as follows (8):

(1) The *Síratu'n-Nabí* [Ibn Hishám's Biography of the Prophet is presumably intended].

(2) The *Qišaṣu'l-Anbiyá*. [Ath-Tha'álibí's work is probably meant].

(3) *Ar-Risálatu'l-Qushayriyya*.

(4) The *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyá* [? of Farídu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭár].

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1) For description of the unique MS. of this work, see Rieu's *Persian Supplement*, pp. 172—4.

(5) The *Tadwín* of the Imám Ráfi'í [or-Yáfi'í, by which is probably meant the *Rawḍu'r-Riyáḥín*].

(6) The *Tajáribu'l-Umam* of Abú 'Alí Miskawayhi.

(7) *Masháribu't-Tajárib* [? of Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí b. Zayd al-Bayhaqí].

(8) The *Díwánu'n-Nasab*.

(9) The great chronicle of Muḥammad b. Jarír at-Ṭabarí.

(10) The history of Ḥamza of Iṣfahán.

(11) The great chronicle of Ibnu'l-Athír [*i. e. at-Ta'rikhu'l-Kámil*].

(12) The *Zubdatu't-Tawárikh* of Jamálu'd-Dín Abú'l-Qásim of Káshán.

(13) The *Nizámu't-Tawárikh* of the Qáḍí Náṣiru'd-Dín Abú Sa'íd at-Bayḍawí.

(14) The *'Uyúnu't-Tawárikh* of Abú Ṭálib 'Alí b. al-Khayr al-Kházin al-Baghdádí.

(15) The *Kitábu'l-Ma'árif* of Ibn Qutayba ad-Dínawarí.

(16) The *Ta'rikh-i Fahán-gusháy* of 'Alá'ú'd-Dín 'Aṭá Malik-i-Juwaynání.

(17) The Persian translation, by Abu'sh-Sharaf al-Jarbá-dhaqání, of al-'Utbi's *Ta'rikh-i Yamíní*.

(18) The *Siyaru'l-Mulúk* [more correctly entitled the *Siyásat-náma*] of the Nizámu'l-Mulk.

(19) The *Sháh-náma* of Firdawsí.

(20) The *Saljúq-náma* of Záhírí of Níshápúr.

(21) The *Majma'u Arbábi'l-Maslak* [or-*Mulk*] of the Qáḍí Ruknu'd-Dín of Khúy.

(22) The *Istizháru'l-akhbár* of the Qáḍí Aḥmad of Dámghán.

(23) The *Fámi'u't-Tawárikh* of the Author's late martyred master and patron, the minister Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh.

This compendium is entitled *Ta'rikh-i-Guzída* ("the Select History"), and was completed in the year A. H. 730 (8). The preface concludes with a prayer that it may be honoured by the perusal of Ghiyáthu'd-Dín, and that the faults of omission and commission which mar its pages may be overlooked.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS OF THE *GUZIDA* (9).

Of the different eras used by historians, *e. g.* (1) from the Fall of Adam; (2) from the Deluge; (3) from the casting of Abraham into the fire; (4) from the Call of Moses; (5) from the destruction of Pharaoh; (6) from the building of the Ka'ba; (7) from the accession of Alexander the Great; (8) from the invasion of Yaman by the Abyssinians; (9) from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar; (10) from the "Year of the Elephant", *etc.* Of these eras, the Israelites employed Nos. 4 and 5; the Ishmaelites (or Arabs) No. 6; the Greeks and Romans No. 7; the Yamanites No. 8; the Copts No. 9, and the Arabs of Quraysh No. 10. From this diversity of eras arose much confusion (10), which the Prophets have not endeavoured to remove, while the philosophers either deny that the world had a beginning, or, as in the case of the sages of India, Cathay, Chinese Tartary, China and Europe, assign to the first man a remote antiquity, or assert the existence of several successive "Adams". The Muhammadans of Persia reckon 6000 years, more or less, from Adam to Muhammad. The astronomers estimate that from the Deluge until the present time, A. Y. 698, 4433 years have elapsed.

This book is divided into an Introduction (*Fātiḥa*), six Chapters, and a Conclusion (*Khátima*) as follows:

INTRODUCTION. On the Creation.

CHAPTER I. On the Prophets, in two Discourses, *viz.*:

*First Discourse* (11) On the Great Prophets described as *Mursal* and *Ulu'l-'Asm.*

*Second Discourse.* On the Minor Prophets and others who furthered the cause of religion and morality until the time of Muhammad, in two Sections, *viz.*:

§ 1. Minor Prophets.

§ 2. Philosophers and moral teachers.

CHAPTER II. On the Pre-Islamic Kings of Persia, in four sections, *viz.*

§ 1. <i>Pishdādiyān</i> ,	11	Kings who reigned 2450 years.
§ 2. <i>Kayāniyān</i> ,	10	" " " 734 "
§ 3. <i>Mulūku't-Ṭawā'if</i> ,	22	" " " 350 "
§ 4. <i>Sāsāniyān</i> ,	31	" " " 527 "

CHAPTER III. On the Prophet Muḥammad and his Companions and Successors, in an introduction and six sections, *viz.*

*Introduction.* The Prophet's genealogy and kin.

- § 1. His life, wars, wives, amanuenses, relatives, clients and heirs.
- § 2. The five [al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī is included] orthodox Caliphs, whose dominion endured exactly 30 lunar years (12) from 13 Rabīʿ I, A. H. 11 until 13 Rabīʿ I, A. H. 41 [= 6 June A. D. 632—15 July, A. D. 661].
- § 3. The remaining ten of the twelve Imāms [excluding ʿAlī and al-Ḥasan who are included in the last section], from 4 Ṣafar, A. H. 49 until Ramaḍān, A. H. 264 [= 14 March, A. D. 669—May, 877], a period of 215 lunar years and 7 months.
- § 4. Account of some of the Prophet's chief Companions and Followers.
- § 5. The fourteen Umayyad "Kings" (not Caliphs), from 13 Rabīʿ I, A. H. 41 until 13 Rabīʿ I, A. H. 132 [= 15 July, A. D. 661—30 Oct., A. D. 749], a period of 91 lunar years.
- § 6. The thirty-seven ʿAbbāsīd Caliphs, from 13 Rabīʿ I, A. H. 132, until 6 Ṣafar, A. H. 656 [= 30 Oct., A. D. 749—12 Feb., A. D. 1258], a period of 523 lunar years, 2 months and 23 days.

CHAPTER IV. Muhammadan dynasties of Persia and some adjacent countries in twelve sections, *viz.*

- § 1. Three Šaffáris, who reigned 35 lunar years, from A. H. 253 until A. H. 287 [A. D. 867—900], over a great part of Persia. Their descendants were still governors of Sístán at the time this history was written.
- § 2. Nine Sámánis (**13**), who reigned for  $102\frac{1}{2}$  years, from the middle of Rabí<sup>c</sup> II A. H. 287 until 5 Dhu'l-Hijja, A. H. 389 [= March 20, A. D. 900—17 Nov., A. H. 999.]
- § 3. Five (*sic*) Ghaznawís, who reigned for 155 lunar years, *viz.* A. H. 390—545 [= A. D. 1000—1150], during the first 30 years of which period a large part of Persia, as well as Ghazna, was under their sway.
- § 4. Five Ghúris, who reigned for 64 lunar years, from A. H. 545 until A. H. 609 [= A. D. 1150—1212].
- § 5. Seventeen Daylamís (or Buwayhís), who reigned for 127 lunar years, from Dhu'l-Qa<sup>c</sup>da, A. H. 321 until A. H. 448 [= A. D. 933—1056].
- § 6. Saljúqs, divided into:
- (a) Fourteen great Saljúqs, who ruled over Persia for 161 lunar years, from A. H. 429 until Rabí<sup>c</sup> I, A. H. 590 [= A. D. 1037—1194.]
  - (b) Eleven Saljúqs of Kirmán, who ruled there for 150 years, from A. H. 433 until 583 [= A. D. 1041—1187.]
  - (c) Fourteen Saljúqs of Asia Minor, who reigned for 220 years, from A. H. 480 until A. H. 700 [A. D. 1087—1300].
- § 7. Nine Khwárazmsháhs (**14**), who reigned for 137 lunar years, from A. H. 491 until Shawwál, A. H. 628 [= A. D. 1098—August, 1231].
- § 8. Atábaks, divided into.
- (a) Nine Atábaks of Syria and Diyár Bakr, who

reigned for 120 years, from A. H. 481 until A. H. 601 [= A. D. 1088—1204].

(b) Eleven Atábaks of Fárs (Salgharís), who reigned for 120 lunar years, from A. H. 543 until A. H. 663 [A. D. 1148—1265.]

§ 9. Isma'ílís, divided into.

(a) Fourteen Fáṭimid Caliphs (or Anti-Caliphs) of Egypt and the West, who reigned for 260 years (*sic*) from A. H. 299 until A. H. 556 [= A. D. 911—1161].

(b) Eight Grand Masters of the Persian Assassins of Alamút, who reigned 171 years, from A. H. 483 until Shawwál, A. H. 654 [= A. D. 1090—Nov., 1256].

§ 10. Ten Qará-Khitá'ís, who ruled over Kirmán from A. H. 621 until 706 [= A. D. 1224—1306], a period of 86 lunar years.

§ 11. Atábaks of Luristán, divided into.

(a) Seven Atábaks of Lur-i-Buzurg, who reigned 180 lunar years, from A. H. 550 until 730 [= A. D. 1155—1330].

(b) Eleven Atábaks of Lur-i-Kúchak, who reigned 150 lunar years, from A. H. 580 until A. H. 730 [= A. D. 1184—1330], (15).

§ 12. Thirteen Mongol Íl-Kháns of Persia, who, from A. H. 599 (= A. D. 1203] until the time of writing, A. H. 730 [= A. D. 1329—1330], have reigned 131 years,, “and let who will hereafter write the conclusion of their history.”

CHAPTER V. Account of learned and pious men in 6 sections, *viz.*

§ 1. Doctors of theology (*Imáms* and *Mujtahids*).

§ 2. Readers of the *Qur'án* (*Qurrá*).

§ 3. Traditionists (*Muḥaddithún*).

- § 4. Shaykhs (*Mashā'ikh*).
- § 5. Learned men (*'ulamā*).
- § 6. Poets, Arabic and Persian.

CHAPTER VI. Account of the Author's native city, Qazwīn, in 8<sup>1)</sup> sections.

- § 1. Traditions concerning it.
- § 2. Derivation of its name.
- § 3. Its buildings.
- § 4. Its conquest and conversion by the Muslims.
- § 5. Its aqueducts, rivers, mosques, tombs and suburbs.
- § 6. Some of the Companions and Followers of the Prophet, the Imāms, Caliphs, Shaykhs, men of learning, kings, ministers and *amīrs* who have visited it.
- § 7. Its governors and rulers.
- § 8. The tribes and notable men who have arisen thence.

CONCLUSION (16). Genealogies of the Prophets, Kings and philosophers, arranged in the form of a tree, summing up in a brief space the information on this subject contained in this history.

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## INTRODUCTION: ON THE CREATION (16).

God, by the word *Kun* ("Be!") created the two worlds, the unseen "World of Command" (*'ālam-i-amr*), and the visible "World of Creation" (*'ālam-i-khalq*). The Universal Reason, the World-Soul, Matter, the Four Elements, the Nine Spheres, the Stars, the Seven Planets, the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac. — (17) Revolution of the Spheres. — Cause of night and day and of the seasons. — The "Seven Sires", "the Four Mothers", and the "Threefold Offspring". — Origin

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1) So in other MSS. In this MS. §§ 3—4 are amalgamated in one, and the number of sections is only 7.

of the sea, storms and mountains. — Appearance of minerals, vegetables and animals. — Creation of Man.

## CHAPTER I. — THE PROPHETS (18).

According to a tradition reported by Abú Dharr al-Ghifárí there were 124,000 Prophets (100,000 in this MS.), of whom 313 were *Mursal*<sup>1)</sup>. Of these 4 were Syrians, *viz.* Adam, Seth, Enoch (who is Idrís, the first who wrote) and Noah; while 4 were Arabs, *viz.* Húd (19), Šálih, Shu‘ayb (*i. e.* Jethro) and Muḥammad. Of the Hebrew Prophets the first was Moses and the last Jesus. The Revelations made to these Prophets comprised 100 tablets (*Šahífa*) and 4 books, *viz.* 50 tablets to Seth, 30 to Enoch, 10 to Abraham [and 10 to Moses before the Pentateuch<sup>2)</sup>], and the Pentateuch, the Gospel, the Psalms and the Qur’án. — Six of the greatest of the Prophets held the rank of *Ulu’l-‘azm*, *viz.* Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad. — The Author has only succeeded in finding mention of 73 Major Prophets (*Mursal*) and 45 Minor Prophets. — The former number, he considers, accords well with the allegorical sense of these two traditions: — “The doctors of my Church are as the Prophets of the Children of Israel”, and. “My Church shall become divided in to 73 sects, whereof one, that which I and my Companions follow, shall be saved.” — Definition of the terms *nabí* (20), *mursal*, and *ulu’l-‘azm*.

### *First Discourse. The Prophets, major and minor.*

Thirty Prophets (21), besides Muḥammad, are mentioned in the *Qur’án*, to wit: — (1) Adam, (2) Seth, (3) Idris = Enoch, (4) Noah, (5) Húd, (6) Šálih, (7) Abraham, (8) Lot, (9) Ishmael, (10) Isaac, (11) Jacob, (12) Joseph, (13) Khidr,

1) Ṭabarí, i, 152.

2) These ten are also ascribed to Adam.

(14) Job, (15) Shu<sup>c</sup>ayb = Jethro, (16) Moses, (17) Aaron, (18) Joshua, (19) Elias, (20) Elisha, (21) Samuel, (22) David, (23) Solomon, (24) Ezra, (25) Daniel, (26) Dhu'l-Kifl, (27) Jonah, (28) Zechariah, (29) John the Baptist and (30) Jesus Christ. The names of the following forty-two are found in various histories and commentaries, but not in the *Qur'án*: (1) Shem, (2) Ham, and (3) Japhet, the three sons of Noah; (4) Judah, (5) Levi, (6) Reuben, (7) Simeon, (8) Issachar, (9) Zebulun, (10) Dan, (11) Gad, (12) Naphtali, (13) Asher, and (14) Benjamin, these eleven, with Joseph, being the ancestors of the twelve tribes (*asbát*) of Israel; (15) Hāndhāla, (16) Gideon, (17) مانتان, (18) Caleb, (19) Ezechiel, (20) سحاس, (21) مانان, (22) كاداحيا, (23) شلومي, (24) سحاسا, (25) عدواسا, (26) سهو, (27) Isaiah, (28) Amos, (29) Hosea, (30) بع, (31) Šādiq, (32) Šadúq, (33) سلوم, (34) سحاسير, (35) يسي, (36) Nahum, (37) الفوشى, (38) Habakkuk, (39) Zephaniah, (40) ادريا, (41) برامل, (42) Haggai, (43) رحرمائيل, (44) مداخر

Adam, called *Abu'l-Bashar* and *Šafyyu'lláh*.

The part played by Gabriel, Michael and 'Azrá'il (22) in the creation of Adam from clay. — After 40 days, God breathes into him His Spirit, and teaches him the Names of all things. — He is worshipped by the Angels, except Iblís. — The creation of Eve. — Adam and Eve are forbidden to eat wheat; or wheat, grapes and figs. — Iblís enters Paradise by the help of the Serpent, and persuades Adam and Eve to eat the forbidden fruit. — They are expelled from Paradise. — Adam is banished to Sarandíb (Ceylon) and Eve to Jeddah. — (23) After 100 years, on the day of 'Áshúrā Adam's repentance is accepted. — Other important events which happened on this day (Muḥarram 10). — Adam and Eve meet again at Mecca, at 'Arafát,

and return to Ceylon. — Cause of the enmity between Cain (*Qábil*) and Abel (*Hábil*). — Cain's sacrifice is rejected, and he murders Abel (24) and buries his body. — Iblís persuades Cain to worship Fire. — Birth of Seth. — Adam dies at the age of 1000 years, and Eve dies a year (or three days) later. — They were buried by Seth near Mecca in the mountain of Bú Qubays, but dis-interred and re-interred by Noah. — Adam had 21 sons and 22 daughters.

*Seth.*

Seth succeeded Adam, received revelations from God, and denounced the Fire-worship practised by the children of Cain. — He built the Ka'ba, died at the age of 912 years, and was succeeded by his son Enos (*Anúsh*), who lived 965 years and first cultivated the date. He was succeeded by his son Cainan, who lived 920 years, and began to build Babel. He was succeeded by his son Mahalaleel (*Mahalá'il*), who (25) lived 895 years, and was succeeded by his son Jared, who lived 962 years. All these were born during Adam's life-time.

*Idris, son of Jared, called Enoch (Akhnúkh).*

Enoch, or Idrís, was at once King, prophet and sage, was versed in Astronomy, and invented writing, spinning, weaving and sewing. He built the Pyramids and foretold the Deluge. — His friendship with the Angel of Death, and the device whereby he entered Paradise when he had lived 865 years.

*Noah, called Najíyyu'lláh.*

Noah, the great-grandson of Idrís, received revelations from God, and preached to his people for 950 years (26), during which period 80 believed. — He makes the Ark, which is described. — The Flood begins in an oven at Kúfa, submerges the "habitable quarter" of the earth and all the mountains, and continues for six months. — The Ark rests

on Mount Júdí near Mawşil, and Noah and his companions leave it on Muḥarram 10 (the *‘Āshúrá*). — They build a village there called [*Súq*] *Thamánin*, “the [Market of the] Eighty” <sup>1)</sup>. — Noah died at the age of 1600 years, or 1300 years. — Since most of the inhabitants of the earth are descended from Noah, he is sometimes entitled “the second Adam”. He had four sons, Shem, Ham and Japhet, who believed and were saved in the Ark, and Canaan (27), who disbelieved and was drowned.

Shem is held by some to have been a prophet, and most of the prophets and all the Persians are descended from him. He had six sons, of whom the eldest was Arfakhshad, from whom Qaḥṭán and Fáligh were descended in the fourth generation. The latter was the ancestor of the Persians, while most of the Arabs are descended from the former, whose son, Ya‘rub, first spoke Arabic. From Qaḥṭán sprang the Ḥimyarites, the Lakhmites, and Sabá (Sheba), who was the father of Quḍá‘a, Ash‘ari, Azd and Ṭayyi’. Shem’s second son, ‘Ālim, begot Khurásán and Haytál. The former begot ‘Iráq, and the latter Kirmán and Mukrán. Shem’s third son was Aswad, who begot Ahwáz and Pahlú, of whom the latter begot Párs. Shem’s fourth son was Núdhar, who begot Adharbád and Arrán, Arman and Múghán. Shem’s fifth son was Iram, from whom were descended the tribes of ‘Ad and Thamúd. Shem’s sixth son was Yafan, who begot Sám and Rúm.

Ham is the ancestor of all the blacks. The story of Noah’s drunkenness and Ham’s irreverence (28), and how it was punished. Ham had also six sons, Zangí, Kús, Hind, Barbar, Qibt, Ḥabash. The last was the father of Núba.

Japhet had eight sons, Turk, Khazar, Saqláb, Rús, Bíshak, Mughúl, Gog and Magog. Chín and Máchín are the sons of

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1) Ṭabarí, i, 197.

Khutan, and the Bulghárs, Birtásís and Báshghirdís are also his descendants, as well as the Greeks, Franks and some of the Romans. After the death of Noah, all these dwelt together in Babel for many years, until one night their common language was taken from them and each awoke speaking a different tongue, whereupon they separated, and the land where each settled became known by his name.

### *Húd.*

Húd, the fifth great prophet, is variously accounted a son of ‘Abir or ‘Ad, to which latter tribe he was sent. He preached to them with little success for fifty years. He then cursed them, and God withheld rain from them for three years. They sent the sage Luqmán to Mecca to ask for rain (29). — A black, a red and a white cloud appear, and the men of ‘Ad are told to choose. They choose the black cloud, and are all destroyed by a violent tempest, in the month of Shawwál, during the *bardu’l-‘ajúz*, or “Old Woman’s Cold”. Húd survived this event for fifty years, died at the age of 150 years, and is buried at Ḥaḍramawt.

### *Şáliḥ.*

Şáliḥ was sent to the tribe of Thamúd. His miracle consists in bringing a female camel and its young one out of the rock. Thamúd refuse to believe and kill the camel. God causes their faces to turn yellow and then black, and finally destroys them by a loud noise from heaven. Şáliḥ lived to be 258 (or 180) years of age. He was buried at Mecca.

### *Ḥandhala.*

Ḥandhala b. Şafwán was descended from Fíhr b. Qaḥṭán, and was sent to the *Ahlu’r-Rass*, or people of Rass, who was a king of the people of Nimrod (30) in the West. This king had apostasised, and claimed to be God, and his people

practised various unnatural crimes, of some of which the perpetrators are still called *Rass* and *‘Sa‘tarí*. God finally destroyed them all by thirst, and by the arrows which they would have shot at *Handhala*.

*Abraham, called Khalílu’lláh (31).*

Genealogy of Abraham. His father ‘Ázar was Nimrod’s *wazír*. The astrologers foretell the birth in Nimrod’s time of a prophet who will cause his destruction, and Nimrod consequently orders a massacre of all male children born at that period. Abraham was hidden by his mother in the place now called Birs [Nimrúd] near Kúfa, which the author visited. At the age of seven he emerged from the cave where he was hidden, and, after worshipping the heavenly bodies, he is guided to the worship of God. He preaches to Nimrod and denounces idol-worship. At the suggestion of Iblís, Nimrod casts Abraham by means of a great catapult into the fire. He refuses help from the angel Gabriel, and the fire is turned into a rose-garden, whence he emerged safe and sound, being at that time 60 years of age. Nimrod, desiring to make war on God, constructs an aerial car drawn by vultures, and from it (32) discharges an arrow towards heaven, which returns to him stained with blood. Nimrod (whom some identify with the Persian Ká’ús) increases in arrogance and claims to be God. Abraham with his wife Sara (who is also his cousin, and the most beautiful of women) and his family and retainers retires from Babel to Egypt. The king of Egypt, Sinán b. ‘Ulwán desires Sara for himself, and takes her from Abraham, but is divinely prevented from touching her. He restores her to Abraham, and presents Hagar to her. They retire from Egypt to Palestine. A bag of sand miraculously turned to flour. (33) Why Abraham is entitled *Khalílu’lláh* (“the Friend of God”). Nimrod, renewing his rebellion against God, is des-

troyed by a gnat which enters his brain. Sara gives Hagar to Abraham, and she bears him a son, Ishmael, Abraham being then 86 years old. — Circumcision is instituted. Sara's jealousy drives out Hagar and Ishmael to Mecca. The spring of Zamzam appears. Ishmael is brought up by the Banú Jurhum. Abraham prepares to offer up Ishmael. A ram is accepted as his substitute (34). A year later Isaac is born to Abraham by Sara, she being then seventy years old. — Ishmael divorces his Jurhumite wife to please Abraham. At God's command they repair the Ka'ba, set up the Black Stone and institute the Pilgrimage to Mecca. Sara dies at the age of 130 years. Abraham marries again and survives Sara fifty years. He dies at the age of 200 and is buried at Hebron in Syria, at the place now called Khalilu'lláh. Ten tablets (*ṣaḥífa*) were revealed to him. Various practices, chiefly in respect to personal cleanliness, which he instituted.

### *Lot (35).*

The seven Cities of the Plain, Ṣan'a, Ṣaw'a, 'Amra (= Gomorrah), Rúyá and Sodom, said to have been situated between Kirmán and Sístán <sup>1)</sup>. — Wickedness of their inhabitants. — The three angels, Gabriel, Michael and Isráfíl, entertained by Lot. Destruction of the Cities of the Plain and flight of Lot and his family, except his wife (36), who is destroyed by a stone from heaven. Lot survived her 7 years and died on a Wednesday in the month of Rabí' I.

### *Ishmael*

Ishmael was sent as a prophet to the Amalekites of Yaman and Ḥaḍramawt, to whom he preached the religion of Abraham for fifty years. He died at the age of 130 and was buried at Mecca beside his mother Hagar.

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1) This idea probably arose from the fact that the desert east of Kirmán is called *Dasht-i-Lút*, and that this was misinterpreted as "the Plain of Lot".

*Isaac.*

Isaac was sent to the people of Syria. The story of Esau and Jacob and of Isaac's blessing, by virtue of which all the succeeding prophets except four, *viz.* Khidr, Job, Shu'ayb (= Jethro) and Muḥammad, were of the posterity of Isaac. Isaac died at the age of 180, and was buried beside Abraham in the year wherein Joseph became ruler (*ʿaziz*) of Egypt.

*Jacob (37).*

Jacob, fearing the wrath of his brother Esau, fled by night into Canaan; wherefore he was called *Israel*. He marries his cousin. Of his two wives the elder bore him six sons, Judah, Levi, Reuben, Simeon, Issachar and Zebulon; the younger two, Joseph and Benjamin; and each of his two concubines two, the one Dan and Naphtali, the other Gad and Asher. Joseph was born when Jacob was 89 years old, was lost to him when he was 90 years old, was separated from him for 40 years, and recovered by him when he was 130 years old. Jacob died in Egypt at the age of 147 and was buried at Khalílu'lláh.

*Joseph.*

Joseph's incomparable beauty. His vanity and its punishment. His dream. He is cast into the pit by his brethren and sold to a trader for 20 dirhams. His brethren tell Jacob that a wolf has destroyed Joseph (38). Joseph is sold for five times his weight of musk, which in Egypt exceeds gold in value, to the *ʿAziz-i-Miṣr*, who was treasurer to the King of Egypt. Zalíkhá falls in love with Joseph, she being then 15 years old and he 17. His chastity, and her calumny. The Egyptian ladies, amazed at Joseph's beauty, cut their hands instead of the oranges which they hold. — Joseph's imprisonment. The king's chief butler (*sharáb-dár*) and chief baker (*khwán-*

*sálár*) are cast into prison. Joseph interprets their dreams (39). The king Rayán's dream of the fat and the lean kine. Joseph interprets it, and, on the death of his former master, is made treasurer and placed in control of all the granaries. He being then 32 years of age, asks for Zalíkhá in marriage. She bears him two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh. Joseph's brethren come to buy corn in Egypt. He bids them bring Benjamin (40). Their second journey to Egypt with Benjamin. Joseph detains Benjamin. Jacob's bitter grief. He becomes blind from his much weeping. Third journey of Joseph's brethren to Egypt. He reveals himself to them, and sends his shirt by them to Jacob, who rubs it on his eyes and recovers his sight. Jacob returns with his sons to Egypt, where he dies seventeen years later. Joseph survives him 23 years, and then dies aged 97. His body is placed in a glass coffin which is sunk in the Nile, but is afterwards recovered by Moses and buried at Khalílu'lláh (41). Discussion of the question whether Joseph's brethren were prophets.

#### *Khidr.*

His name was Balyá b. Malkán b. Fáligh *etc.* He was born before the time of Abraham, was a contemporary of Dhu'l-Qarnayn the greater, and accompanied him in his search for the Water of Life, which he drunk and so became immortal. Allegorical explanation of this legend.

#### *Job.*

Job was the great-great grandson of Esau. The misfortunes and trials wherewith God proves him (42). His exemplary patience, and its reward. His death at the age of 200.

#### *Shu'ayb* (Jethro).

His mission to the people of al-Aríka (? Jericho), most of whom, on account of their unbelief, were destroyed by fire from a cloud.

*Moses, called Kalimu'lláh.*

He was born in Egypt in the reign of Walíd b. Muṣṣab. b. Rayyán, (the grandson of Joseph's Pharaoh) who greatly oppressed the Israelites (43) and killed their male children on account of a prediction of his astrologers. The child Moses, consigned to the Nile, is found by one of the hand-maidens of Āsiya, Pharaoh's wife, and adopted by her. His own mother is engaged to nurse him. When two years old he one day plucked Pharaoh by the beard. Pharaoh wished to kill him, but was dissuaded by Āsiya, who, to show the child's lack of discrimination, placed before him two bowls, one filled with fire and one with rubies. Moses picked up a burning coal and put it in his mouth, and, in consequence of the burn which it inflicted, he was ever afterwards unable to speak clearly. At the age of 20 he was given a wife, who bore him two sons. At the age of 26 he killed the Egyptian and fled from Egypt to Shu'ayb (Jethro), whose daughter he married after he has served Jethro as a shepherd for two years. She bears him two sons. Moses returns to Egypt. The episode of the Burning Bush on Mount Sinai (44). The miracles of the "White Hand" and the Rod which turned into a serpent are vouchsafed to Moses, and he is sent to Egypt accompanied by his brother Aaron to act as his spokesman. Pharaoh is obdurate and brings his magicians to contend against Moses, but they are convinced by his miracles and believe in him, whereupon they are put to death by Pharaoh. The seven plagues wherewith God afflicts the Egyptians, together with the two miracles of the Rod and the "White Hand" make up the Nine Signs of Moses (45). Flight of Moses with the Israelites from Egypt. They cross the Red Sea, which the Egyptians seeking to do are drowned. The Tablets of the Law are revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai in the presence of 70 witnesses. Colloquy of Moses

with God. (46) Moses asks, but is not permitted to see God, whose effulgence causes Mount Sinai to be shivered in pieces (from some of which, it is said, Mount Uḥud was produced), whereat the 70 witnesses die of fright, but are restored to life by Moses' prayer. — The story of Sámirí and the Golden Calf, which speaks and moves by virtue of a handful of dust whereon Gabriel had trod and which Sámirí scattered over it. Moses kills 70,000 of the Calf's worshippers. He desires to burn the Calf and does so by virtue of an Alchemy which God teaches him, in despite of his cousin Qárún (Corah). Qárún learns the secret of this Alchemy from Moses, and so becomes wealthy, and rebels against Moses. God causes the earth to open and swallow him up together with his wealth (47). A rich Israelite is murdered by his nephews and his body thrown between two villages, the inhabitants of which are suspected. Moses bids them kill a cow and strike the murdered man with one of its limbs, whereupon he comes to life again and identifies his murderers. The story of Moses and Khiḍr (48). Khiḍr explains the reasons of the three actions which excited the wonder and disapproval of Moses. Moses is sent against Og the son of Anak (ʿÚj or ʿÚq b. ʿUnuq), (49) and kills him in single combat, by the help of the hoöpoë. Balaam, the nephew of Shuʿayb (Jethro) prays against the Israelites, who lose their way and wander in the wilderness for forty years. The Quails and Manna. Death of Moses and Aaron. They are succeeded by Gideon and Jephthah (who die in the wilderness), and these in turn by Joshua.

*Joshua the son of Nún (50).*

Joshua was the nephew and executor of Moses, and led the children of Israel against the giants of Syria, took their land, and killed Balaam, who at the Resurrection will appear in the form of the dog which accompanied the Seven Sleepers.

He died at the age of 127 years. He was succeeded by Caleb, who brought the Israelites back to Egypt and there died. Next came Ezechiel the Levite, who cursed his people for their unbelief and they died of a pestilence, but were again restored to life by his prayer. It is said that a putrid odour still clings to the descendants of these Jews. Some historians identify Ezechiel with Dhu'l-Kifl, who will be mentioned presently, but others say that the former lived before David and the latter after, which latter statement appears to be the more correct. Ezechiel was followed by Phineas, who is said to have been identical with him who was called *Khidr* by the Arabs, and who found the Water of Life; but this statement is incorrect, for the *Khidr* who found the Water of Life was not an Israelite, as was this *Khidr*, who was the brother of Elias.

*Elias (51).*

Elias was sent to preach to the worshippers of Baal, whom, on account of their unbelief, he afflicted with drought and famine. Disgusted by their unbelief, he finally withdrew into seclusion, appointing as his successor —

*Elisha the Ephraimite.*

He was, for some generations, the last of the Hebrew Prophets. — The Jews disregard their doctors (*ʿulamā*). — The Ark of the Covenant is captured by Goliath.

*Samuel.*

Samuel is, after an interval, sent as a Prophet (52) to the Israelites, who, guided by him, recover the Ark. — They demand a King, and are given Saul (*Ṭálút*). — Goliath killed by David. — Death of Samuel, aged 52.

*David.*

David was the eleventh in descent from Jacob. Saul, jealous

of his influence, tries to kill him (53). Saul and his sons are killed by the Philistines. The Psalms (*Zubúr*) are revealed to David. — His marvellous sweetness of voice. — His sin with the wife of Uriah, by whom Solomon is born to him. — His repentance and forgiveness. — Uriah is restored to life to assure David of his forgiveness. The Jews, forbidden to fish on the Sabbath, put down their nets on the Sabbath and draw them in on Sunday. David reproves them, but they pay no heed, and as a punishment are metamorphosed into pigs. — David chooses Solomon as his successor and builds the Temple at Jerusalem. He dies at the age of one hundred, having reigned forty years.

#### *Solomon (54).*

Solomon alone of all mankind was both king and prophet. — His ring, inherited from Adam, on which was engraved the Most Great Name of God. — His authority over all living creatures. — His throne, and how the wind obeys him and carries him whither he will. — His wise minister, Aşaf b. Barkhiyá. — His adventures with Bilqís, Queen of Sheba (55), whom he marries, and who bears him Rehoboam. — Solomon's shape assumed and sway usurped by one of the *Finn*. — His death at the age of fifty-five. — How his death was concealed from the *Finn* for a year. — Mention of three or four more obscure prophets (55—56).

#### *Isaiah.*

The Assyrians (or "Babylonians") attack Jerusalem, but death overtakes their whole army at the prayer of Isaiah. — Isaiah was the first prophet who foretold the advent of Christ and Muḥammad. — He is murdered. — Luhrásp, king of Persia, sends Ruhám the son of Gúdarz (who was called Nebuchadnezzor in Syria) to avenge his death, lay waste Jerusalem, and bring the Israelites into captivity.

*Jeremiah (57).*

Some historians identify Jeremiah with Ezra, asserting that the latter was his Arabic and the former his Hebrew name. On the death of Isaiah he fled to Egypt, but was brought back by Nebuchadnezzor to Jerusalem. Ezra's faith that God would once again make the Holy Land flourish. — His soul is taken from his body while he sleeps, and restored a hundred years later, when Daniel had come, and the country was once more prosperous. — He convinces the Jews that he lived a century earlier by reciting the *Tawrát* (Pentateuch) by heart, and showing them where a copy of the same made by Isaiah was hidden under a pillar of the temple. Some of the Jews (58) called him the Son of God, and so became infidels. — Bahman the son of Isfandiyár, being vexed with the inhabitants of Jerusalem, sent Nebuchadnezzor to destroy it again and massacre or take captive the Israelites, who were thus greatly reduced and humbled.

*Daniel.*

After the death of Bahman, Daniel restored Jerusalem, and brought back the Israelites thither. God gave him as his sign a knowledge of the Science of Geomancy. He guided the Israelites for a time, and then retired into Khúzistán in Persia, and there died. His tomb was discovered there by Abú Músá al-Ash'arí when the Arabs conquered Persia [in the seventh century of the Christian era.].

*Jonah.*

Jonah was sent to preach to the people of Nineveh. — Their unbelief. — Their punishment and repentance. — Jonah and the whale (59). — He remains forty days in the whale's belly. — His deliverance. — His gourd and the gazelle. — He dies and is buried at Kúfa. — Three more

minor prophets contemporary with Jonah. — Three more, Šádiq, Šadúq and Salúm, sent to the people of Antioch, of whom, on account of their unbelief, all the adults are destroyed by a noise from heaven. — Some say that these three prophets lived in the interval between Christ and Muḥammad, and that their story is connected with the villagers (*aṣḥáb-i-qarya*) mentioned in the Qur'án (60). Five more minor prophets, including Nahum and Habakkuk.

### *Dhu'l-Kifl.*

Some say that he was descended from Job and was an Arab; others that he was an Israelite. He was sent to a King of Syria named Canaan (*Kan'án*). His tomb is near Kúfa, and was a place of pilgrimage of the Jews, until Úljáytú (Sháh Khudá-banda, the Mongol) took it from them and gave it to the Muslims, who built a Mosque on the spot. — Haggai and another minor prophet.

### *Zechariah.*

Zechariah was of the posterity of Solomon, and was cousin to 'Imrán the father of Mary, and their wives were sisters. Birth of Mary. — A Son is promised to Zechariah (61). — His unbelief. — He is tongue-tied for three days. — John the Baptist is born nine months later. — The Angel Gabriel appears to Mary when she is eighteen years old in the form of Joseph the Carpenter, on the 25th of the month of Adhár (March), and foretells the birth of Jesus. — The miraculous conception of Jesus, who is born nine months later. — Jesus speaks in his cradle to vindicate his mother against the calumnies of the Jews, declare his own mission, and announce the advent of Muḥammad "the Seal of the Prophets". — Mary flees into Syria with the child Jesus. — Calumnies uttered by the Israelites against Zechariah. — The king of Jerusalem tries to kill him. — He flees towards Damascus,

but, being overtaken by his pursuers, takes refuge within a hollow tree. — Iblís tells his pursuers where he is, and they saw the tree in two, together with Zechariah.

*John the Baptist,*

His mission. — He believes in Jesus. — He is put to death by the king of Jerusalem [Herod] for the sake of [Herodias] his niece, whom John had forbidden him to marry (62). The blood of John the Baptist will not dry up or rest, and the doctors of the law declare that it will not do so until the blood of his murderers is poured upon it. Gúdarz the Parthian (Ashghání) hears this, marches on Jerusalem, and kills 70,000 Jews, but the blood will not rest until finally the blood of the murderers is poured over it.

*Jesus Christ.*

The genealogy of Jesus up to Adam. He was born on Wednesday, the 25th of Kánún-i-Awwal (December) in the year 233 of Alexander, at Náşiratu'l-Khalíl (Nazareth) near Jerusalem, on which account his followers are called Nazarenes (*Naşrání*, plural, *Naşará*). He alone of all the prophets was born with the gift of prophecy, for others have only become prophets after the age of forty. When he was thirty years of age he came back (63) from Damascus to Jerusalem, where the Gospel (*Injíl*) was revealed to him, and he began to summon men to God. The Jews required a miracle, whereupon he made a bat out of clay, breathed on it, and it flew. He also healed blind and leprous persons whom the physicians had been unable to benefit, and restored to life Shem the son of Noah as a witness to them. As the Jews still remained obdurate, after two years' preaching Jesus departed into Egypt. On his way thither he preached to a company of washermen, twelve of whom believed and became the twelve disciples. — Their names. — They accompany Jesus

Christ to Andalusia (*sic*), where there is a famine. Jesus prays, and food is sent down for them from heaven — roast fish, roast lamb and cress — for three consecutive days. Some unbelievers ascribed this miracle to magic, and were turned into swine. Jesus again returned to Jerusalem. The Jews seek to kill him. He flees, and the Jews seize Simon [Peter], who refuses to betray his Master. They then seize Judas, who for 30 *dirhams* shows them where Jesus is. The Jews wish to take him, but God conceals him from their eyes, and transforms into his likeness *Yishú'*, the chief priest of the Jews, whom they crucify (64) in his stead, while Jesus ascends into heaven, he being then thirty-two years of age. *Yishú'* remained on the Cross for seven days and nights, and Mary used to go every night and weep at the foot of the Cross, until, on the seventh night, God sent down Jesus from heaven to comfort her. John the Baptist and seven of the Disciples also saw Jesus, and spent that night with him, and he gave them many wise counsels, some of which are here given. — The Jews conquered by the Romans. — The Disciples disperse, two going to Rome, one to Qayruwán, one to Ifríqiyya (Tunis), one to the Franks, one to the Hījáz, and one to Jerusalem (65). Rapid diffusion of Christianity. Reverence for the Cross. — Some regard Jesus as God, and some as the Son of God, while others regard him and his mother Mary as partners of God, all of which beliefs are heresy. Mary died six years after Jesus had ascended into heaven.

*Second Discourse. Section 1. The minor Prophets.*

*Abel (Hábíl).*

He was the first to whom a prophetic commission was given. His story has been already given (p. 10 *supra*; pp. 23—4 of *facsimile*).

*Dhu'l-Qarnayn al-Akbar.*

Some say that it was he who built the *Sadd-i-Yájúj* (Great Wall) and journeyed round the world, and that he lived before Abraham and was contemporary with *Khidr*, who accompanied him in his search for the Water of Life; but others assert that these deeds are to be ascribed to the other Dhu'l-Qarnayn, namely Iskandar (Alexander the Great) the son of Dáráb the son of Bahman. Dhu'l-Qarnayn is mentioned in the *Qur'án*, but as a King, not a prophet, and that he was a prophet is denied by some historians.

*Abimelech and . . . . .*

These were Syrian prophets, followers of the religion of Abraham, with whom they were contemporary. [There follow on this page and on p. 66 names of other prophets, most of which cannot be identified]. Amongst them (66) are *Samson*; a descendant of Aaron named 'Álî; *Aghrîrath*, son of Pushang, said to have been the only prophet who came out of Turkistán, who was killed by his brother Afrásiyáb; *Saul*; (67) *Simon* [*Peter*], who followed Jesus Christ; *Firjîs* (*St. George*), who, after suffering much persecution, converted the king and people of Mawşil (Nineveh); *Khálid b. Sinán*, who, in the time of Núshírwán, preached Christianity to the Arabs, overcame a fire which they worshipped, and brought rain when he would.

*Second Discourse. Section 2. Philosophers and Teachers.**Luqmán* (68).

Some assert that he was the cousin of Moses, others that he was a black slave. Some regard him as a prophet, but in the *Qur'án* he is only mentioned as a wise man. God granted him the life of seven vultures, a vulture being said to live 500 years or less. Some of his wise sayings and maxims (69).

*Pythagoras (Fíthághúras).*

He was the disciple of Luqmán and contemporary with Gushtásp. His musical inventions. — His sayings.

*Hippocrates (Buqrát).*

He was the disciple of Pythagoras (70), and contemporary with Bahman, and was the father of Medicine. His is the saying, "*Ars longa, vita brevis*". Mention is also made of *Buqrátís*, whom the author treats as an independent person and a disciple of the above.

*Socrates (Suqrát).*

Some of his alleged sayings are quoted.

*Plato (Aflátún).*

He was the disciple of the above, and contemporary with Dáráb. His wise sayings (70—71).

*Aristotle (Aristátális).*

He was the disciple of Plato and the minister and adviser of Alexander.

*Pliny (Balínás) (72).*

He was the disciple of Aristotle, and constructed the minaret of Alexandria, which showed all that was taking place in the lands of the Franks.

*Galen (Ǧálinús).*

He was the disciple of Pliny. Some of his sayings.

*Ptolemy (Baṭlímús).*

He was the disciple of Galen. Some of his sayings.

*Thiyádhúq (73).*

He was a contemporary of Núshírwán <sup>1)</sup>. His medical aphorisms (73).

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1) This is an error. He flourished in reality in the Umayyad period, and was in the service of Ḥajjáj b. Yûsuf. See al-Qiftí's *Ta'ríkhu'l-Hukamá*, p. 105 and Ibn Abí Uṣaybi'a, vol. i, pp. 121—3, where his aphorisms are mentioned.

*Buzurjmīhr.*

He was Núshírwán's prime minister, and was a native of Merv. — His aphorisms (74—78).

*The Mujáhidún, or Strivers for God (78).**The seven Sleepers (Aṣḥáb-i-Kahf).*

These lived in the time of the Emperor Decius (*Daqiyanús*), near Tarsus in Syria. — Their names. — Their dog. — Their trance in the cave lasts for 309 years, when they are restored to consciousness.

*Samson (Shamsún) (79).*

His strength. He makes war on the unbelievers with the bone of a camel. He is betrayed by his wife and bound with his own hair. He pulls down the king's palace on his enemies.

*The Tubba' of Yaman.*

He was a contemporary of Bahráw Gúr. He is converted to the Jewish religion, and informed of the approaching advent of the Prophet Muhammad. He visits the Ka'ba at Mecca and invests it for the first time. He challenges the unbelievers of Yaman, who are consumed by a miraculous fire which inhabited a cave there.

*The Christians of Najrán (Aṣḥábu'l-Ukhdúd) (80).*

These lived in the time of Pírúz son of Qubád. Fímún the Christian converts the tree-worshippers. How his disciple 'Abdu'llah b. Támir discovers the Most Great Name of God. Dhú Nuwás Yúsuf, the Ḥimyarite king of Yaman, takes captive and kills 'Abdu'llah b. Támir, whose body was discovered during the Caliphate of 'Umar (81). Dhú Nuwás burns the Christians of Najrán in pits of fire. God punishes him by sending the Abyssinians to invade Yaman and destroy him and the ancient dynasty which he represented. Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ, the founder of the Assassins (*Maláḥida*) was of his posterity.

## CHAPTER II. — PRE-ISLAMIC KINGS OF PERSIA.

*Section 1. The Pishdādiyān.*1. *Gayúmarth.*

Various accounts of his genealogy. His son (or grandson) *Siyámak* is killed by the *divs* or demons, but his death is avenged by his son (or grandson) *Húshang* (82). *Iṣṭakhr*, *Balkh* and *Damáwand* are said to have been founded by *Gayúmarth*, who lived 1000 years.

2. *Húshang.*

He succeeded his grandfather *Gayúmarth*, and is also called *Búm-Sháh*, and entitled *Pish-dád*, because he first dispensed equal justice amongst men. His institutions, and the cities founded by him. He reigned for 40 years. The prophet *Idrís* was his contemporary. His philosophical aphorisms (83—85).

3. *Tahmúrath* (85).

He succeeded his father *Húshang*, and was entitled *Div-band*, "the Binder of Demons". Fasting instituted in his time, on account of a famine which prevailed. — *Búdásaf* and the *Chaldaeans*. — *Sa'dí's Bústán* cited (86). Origin of idolatry. — Origin of the *Sabaeans* and of star-worship. — Religious toleration enjoined by *Tahmúrath*. He reigns 30 years. — Cities founded by him.

4. *Jamshíd.*

He succeeded his father (or, according to others, his brother) *Tahmúrath*. He instituted three castes in his kingdom, soldiers, artisans and agriculturalists. Invention of the arts of Music and Medicine (87). Idolatry prevails. *Jamshíd's* impious claim to be divine. Cities founded by him. He reigns

700 years, and survives his deposition by Զափհák 100 years more.

#### 5. Զափհák.

He was called Qays in Arabic and Bíwarasp in Persian. Etymology of the name Dahák (*dah-ák* = "ten vices"). His shoulders are attacked by a devouring cancer (*sarātán*) which only the application of human brains can relieve. His cooks, Armáyil and Karmáyil, and how they save some of Զափհák's victims (88), from whom are descended the Kurds. The story of Káwa the blacksmith and his revolt. Զափհák is deposed after a reign of 1000 years.

#### 6. Firídún.

His genealogy and names. Now he overthrows Զափհák (89). The *dirafsh-i-Káwayán* becomes the national standard. Its final capture by the Arabs at Qádisiyya. Firídún divides his kingdom between his three sons, Salm, Túr and Íraj, of whom the two former are jealous of the latter and murder him. Birth of Minúchihr, grandson of Íraj. He grows up and avenges his grandfather's death. The hostility between Írán and Túrán dates from that time. Wars of Kúsh, the nephew of Զափհák, with Sám the son of Naríman. Firídún reigned 500 years.

#### 7. Minúchihr. (90)

He first causes gardens to be made. Moses and Joshua were his contemporaries. He reigned 120 years.

#### 8. Núdhar.

He succeeded his father Minúchihr. Afrásiyáb makes war upon him, and finally takes him captive and puts him to death. He reigned 7 years.

#### 9. Afrásiyáb.

After killing Núdhar, Afrásiyáb usurped the Persian throne,

until, after he had wrought much devastation, he was expelled by Zál the son of Sám.

#### 10. *Zaw.*

He was placed on the throne by Zál, and remitted all taxes for 7 years, until the country recovered its prosperity.

#### 11. *Karshásp. (91)*

Karshásp succeeded his father Zaw, but reigned only 6 years, his death taking place while he was engaged in war with Afrásiyáb, who again overran Persia, but was expelled by Zál.

### *Section 2. The Kayáuiyán.*

(Duration of this dynasty, 734 years).

#### 1. *Kay-Qubád.*

He delivers Persia from Afrásiyáb by the help of Zál and Rustam. Rustam made *Ĵahán pahlawán*, a position equivalent to that of *Amír-u'l-Umará*. Institutions of Kay-Qubád. The frontier between Írán and Túrán is fixed by the wonderful bow-shot of Arash. Kay-Qubád reigned 100 years.

#### 2. *Kay-Káwús.*

He succeeds his father (or grandfather) Kay-Qubád. He gets into trouble in Mázandarán and is rescued by Rustam, who makes his way thither alone through the Haft-Khwán (92). He suffers defeat by the Ĥimyarites in Hámáwarán, and is again rescued by Rustam, who is rewarded with the hand of Mihr-náz, the sister of Kay-Káwús. Kay-Káwús' attempt to reach heaven in an aerial chariot drawn by vultures. The story of Rustam and Suhráb. The story of Siyáwush. Afrásiyáb defeated by Rustam (93), who ravages Turkistán. Káwús reigned 150 years.

3. *Kay-Khusraw.*

He was the son of Siyáwush, and was born four months after his father's death. Gív the son of Gúdarz brings him from Túrán to Írán. Rivalry of Firíburz. Further wars with Túrán (94). Story of Bízhan and Manízha. Rostam is sent in disguise to Túrán to deliver Bízhan from prison. The combat called *Yang-i-duwásdah rukh* between the champions of Írán and Túrán. Afrásiyáb is defeated and pursued by Kay-Khusraw until he is finally taken captive near Lake Chíchast in Adharbayján by (95) Húm, and is put to death by Kay Khusraw, who afterwards abdicates in favour of Luhrásp.

4. *Luhrásp.*

He was the great-grandson of Kay-Qubád. He makes Bukht Naşşar (Nebuchadnezzor), whom the Persians call Bakht-Narsí, commander-in-chief. Story of his son Gushtásp (96) and Katáyún, daughter of the Emperor of the Romans. Luhrásp abdicates in favour of his son Gushtásp, and retires into religious seclusion at Balkh, where he is killed by Arjásp, having reigned 120 years.

5. *Gushtásp.*

Zoroaster appeared in his reign. Gushtásp adopts the Zoroastrian faith, and endeavours to impose it on the Romans, but desists on (97) learning that Firídún had given them a charter guaranteeing them religious freedom. Isfandiyár's zeal for Zoroastrianism. Arjásp, the grandson of Afrásiyáb, invades Persia, kills Luhrásp at Balkh, and defeats Gushtásp, who sends his brother Jámásp to release Isfandiyár. Isfandiyár defeats and kills Arjásp, and demands the throne of his father Gushtásp, who sends him to kill or take captive Rostam, against whom he is incensed. Rostam is only able to kill Isfandiyár by the guidance of Zál and the Símurgh,

who instruct him to use arrows made of *gaz* (tamarisk) wood. Towns founded by Gushtásp (98). His reign lasted 120 years.

6. *Bahman, son of Isfandiyár.*

He seeks revenge for his father, and kills Rustam's son Farámarz. He is called *Ardashír-i-Diráz-dast* ("the Long-handed") by the Persians, and Kúrush (Cyrus) by the Jews. His son Sásán and his daughter Humáy. He marries the latter, and makes her queen, excluding Sásán, who withdraws into seclusion.

7. *Humáy, or Shamírán.*

A son is born by Humáy to her father Bahman. She casts him into the water, whence he is rescued by a washerman, and named *Dáráb*, because he was found in the water (*dar áb*). His royal origin is revealed by his powers, and Humáy (99) finally recognizes him as king, and retires after a reign of 32 years. She built Persepolis (*Hazár Sutún-i-Ištakhr*), which Alexander afterwards destroyed.

8. *Dáráb, son of Bahman.*

He establishes the post (*baríd*) in Persia. He demands in marriage the daughter of Fayliqús (Philip), but divorces her. She gives birth to Iskandar (Alexander) whom Philip declares to be his own son. Dáráb appoints another son named Dárá his successor, and dies after a reign of twelve years.

9. *Dárá, son of Dáráb.*

Alexander refuses to pay the customary tribute to Dárá, and says that "the bird which laid three golden eggs is dead." He attacks Dárá, who is murdered by two of his own servants, and marries Rawshanak (*Roxana*) the daughter of Dárá. Dárá reigned for 14 years.

10. *Iskandar (Alexander).*

Iskandar the son of Dáráb the son of Bahman (100) succeeded his brother Dárá, and conquered the whole world. Qaydháfa the queen of Andalusia alone outwits him. He goes in quest of the Water of Life with Khidr. Aristotle acts as his *Wazir*, plagiarizes Persian philosophy, and then burns the books and destroys the sciences of the Persians. Monuments left by Alexander. He divided Persia before his death amongst 90 *Mulúku't-Tawá'if*, or Tribal Kings, and thus rendered her powerless. He reigned 14 years in Persia, died at Shahrazúr, and was buried at Alexandria. The famous lovers Wámiq and 'Adhrá lived in his time. (101) Some of his aphorisms.

*Section 3. The Tribal Kings (Mulúku't-Tawá'if).*

These ruled over Persia from the death of Alexander until the foundation of the Sásánian dynasty by Ardashír Bábakán, in all 318 years <sup>1</sup>). Learning and science flourished in their days, and the *Book of Sindibád* and other notable books were composed. There were three branches of these kings, comprising 21 rulers who were of greater importance than the others.

*First Branch. (1) Abṭaḥan.*

Abṭaḥan-i-Rúmí held Khurásan, 'Iráq, and part of Fárs and Kirmán from Alexander. After a reign of four years he was killed by the founder of the —

*Second Branch. (1) Ashk of Dárá.*

He was recognized as suzerain and over-lord by the other

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1) The period was in reality much longer, over 550 years, for Alexander died B.C. 330 and the Sásánian dynasty was founded in A. D. 226. The only Muhammadan historian who was aware of, and explained the reason of this falsification is, so far as I know, Mas'údí, in his admirable *Kitábu't-Tanbíh wa'l-Ishráf* (ed. De Goeje, pp. 97—9).

kings, but took no tribute from them. He reigned fifteen years and was succeeded by his son —

(2) *Ashk son of Ashk.*

He (102) reigned twenty years and was succeeded by his brother —

(3) *Shápúr son of Ashk son of Dárá.*

He is called “the Great Shápúr”. He defeated the Greeks (*Rím*), and recovered a large part of the spoils taken from Persia by Alexander. He reigned six years, and was succeeded by his son —

(4) *Bahrám son of Shápúr.*

He reigned eleven years and was succeeded by his son —

(5) *Balásh (Vologeses).*

He reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded by his son —

(6) *Hurmazd.*

He also reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded by his brother —

(7) *Narsí.*

He reigned four years, and was succeeded by his nephew —

(8) *Firúz son of Firúz son of Balásh.*

He reigned seventeen years, and was succeeded by his son —

(9) *Balásh.*

He reigned twelve years, and was succeeded by his cousin —

(10) *Khusraw son of Narsí son of Balásh.*

He reigned six years, and was succeeded by —

(11) *Baláshán son of Balásh son of Fírúz.*

Marghzár-i-Baláshán, a place near Isfahán, is named after him. He reigned twenty-two years, and was succeeded by his son —

(12) *Ardawán.*

He reigned thirteen years (103), and was killed in battle with the Ashgháníyán.

*Third Branch. The Ashgháníyán.*

These Ashgháníyán were descended from Firiburz the son of Káwús. They were eight in number and reigned one hundred and fifty years.

(1) *Ardawán son of Ashgh.*

He held the same position of over-lord conceded to the preceding dynasty by the other kings, reigned thirty years, and was succeeded by his brother —

(2) *Khusraw son of Ashgh.*

Jesus Christ was born in his reign, which lasted twelve years. He was succeeded by his brother —

(3) *Balásh son of Ashgh.*

He also reigned for twelve years, and was succeeded by his son —

(4) *Gúdarz, called "the Great".*

He avenged the death of John [the Baptist] on the Jews. He reigned thirty years and was succeeded by his son —

(5) *Birí.*

Ways and Rámín <sup>1)</sup> governed Khurásán on his behalf. He reigned twenty years and was succeeded by his son —

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1) The hero and heroine of a popular Persian romance. The first name is here pointed *Ways* (not *Wis*) quite clearly.

(6) *Gúdarz*.

He reigned two years and was succeeded by his uncle —

(7) *Narsí son of Gúdarz son of Balásh*.

He reigned ten years, and was succeeded by the son of his predecessor —

(8) *Narsí son of Gúdarz son of Bírí*.

In his time the Romans attacked Persia, but he sought help from the [other] *Mulúku't-Ṭawá'if* and drove them back. He reigned thirty one years and was killed by Ardashír Bábakán, and with him the "Tribal Kings" came to an end.

*Section 4. The Sásániyán (Akásira, pl. of Kisrá).*

These were thirty-one in number, and the dynasty endured for 527 years (104).

(1) *Ardashír Bábakán*.

Bábak, from whom Ardashír derives his patronymic, was his maternal grandfather and was Ardawán's governor in Fárs. The town of *Shahr-i-Bábak* takes its name from him. Story of Sásán and Bábak's dream. The latter gives his daughter in marriage to the former. Birth of Ardashír. He goes to Ardawán's court. His flight and revolt. He fights and kills Ardawán, whose daughter he marries. Her story. Birth of Shápúr. His recognition by Ardashír. The Barmecides (*Ál-i-Barmak*) were descended from Ardashír's devoted minister [Abarsám]. — Story of Haftawád and the Worm of Kirmán, from which that city derives its name. Ardashír destroys the Worm (105), takes Kirmán, and kills Haftawád and his sons. Cities founded by Ardashír. — Some of his aphorisms. He reigned 44 years and 2 months, of which time 30 years were spent in subduing the Tribal kings.

(2) *Shápúr son of Ardashír.*

He reigned 31 years. — Cities founded by him. — Towns built by Sāsánians in the shapes of animals, *e. g.* Sús in the shape of a hawk, Shúshtar in the shape of a horse, *etc.* (106).

(3) *Hurmazd son of Shápúr.*

His strength and courage. He persecutes the Manichaeans. Cities founded by him. He reigned 2 years.

(4) *Bahrám son of Hurmazd.*

He reigned for 13 years and 3 months.

(5) *Bahrám son of Bahrám son of Hurmazd.*

He reigned for 8 years.

(6) *Bahrám son of Bahrám son of Bahrám.*

He was called Bahrám Bahrámán and Sagán-sháh (*i. e.* king of Sijistán or Sístán). He reigned 13 years and 4 months.

(7) *Narsí son of Bahrám son of Bahrám son of Hurmazd.*

He succeeded his brother, who died childless. He reigned 9 years.

(8) *Hurmazd son of Narsí.*

He also reigned 9 years.

(9) *Shápúr son of Hurmazd, called Dhu'l-Aktáf.*

(107) He was born 40 days after his father's death. During his childhood the Arabs give more trouble, sack Ctesiphon, and carry off his aunt Núsha, who is married by Ṭáhir, the Arab leader, and bears him a daughter named Malika. Shápúr, on reaching man's estate, makes war on the Arabs, and with the help of Malika, kills Ṭáhir, takes his stronghold, and marries Malika. Story of Malika and the "crumpled

rose-leaf'. Shápúr puts her to death also, and kills many of the Arabs. How he gets the nick-name of *Dhu'l-Aktáf* ("the Shoulder-man"). Shápúr explains to Málik b. Naḍr, an ancestor of the Prophet Muḥammad, that his hatred of the Arabs arises from a prophecy that his house will be overthrown by them. Málik (108) dissuades him from further slaughter. Shápúr, pretending to be his own ambassador, visits the Roman Emperor (*Qayṣar-i-Rúm*), but is recognized and taken prisoner. The Emperor devastates Persia. Shápúr, aided by a girl who falls in love with him, escapes to Persia, takes the Qayṣar captive, and compels him to repair the ruin he has caused in Persia by the aid of Greek workmen. — Some say that Manes (Mání) appeared in Shápúr's reign. (109) His miracles or pretended miracles. He is put to death. — Another false prophet named Ādharbádh, from whom the province of Ādharbádhagán (Āzarbayján) takes its name. Cities founded by Shápúr. He lived 72 years, and was king during the whole of this period.

(10) *Ardashir son of Hurmazd.*

He was the brother of his predecessor, acted as regent for 10 years during the minority of his nephew Shápúr, and then retired in his favour.

(11) *Shápúr son of Shápúr son of Hurmazd.*

(110). He reigned only five years and four months, and was killed by his tent being blown down on him when he was out hunting. Sharwín and Khurwín were his contemporaries. The former was lent to Rúm to act as regent for the Qayṣar's infant son, and remained there until the time of Bahrám Gúr. Then are many Pahlawí poems about him, including one named *Sharwiniyán*.

(12) *Bahrám son of Shápúr son of Shápúr.*

He succeeded his brother, and is entitled Kirmánsháh.

He was cruel, tyrannical and avaricious. He reigned 13 years. His epitaph.

(13) *Yazdigird son of Bahrám.*

(111). He reigned only a year, and is by many historians not reckoned amongst the Sásánian kings.

(14) *Yazdigird (cousin of the above).*

He, on account of his tyranny and evil deeds, is known as *Baza-gar* (in Arabic, *al-Athim*), i. e. "the Sinner". — Predictions of the astrologers. — Story of the fairy horse which causes his death at *Chashma-i-Sabz* ("the Green Fountain") in Khurásán. He reigned  $21\frac{1}{2}$  years.

(15) *Bahrám son of Yazdigird son of Shápúr son of Shápúr (112).*

On account of his father's tyranny he was at first excluded from the succession, *Kisrá* being chosen as king, but his courage in the Ordeal of the Lions secured him the throne. His courage and justice. His love of the chase. Why he was called *Bahrám Gúr*. — Story of him and his mistress *Dil-árám*. His reign was a time of pleasure and merry-making. *Lúlis* imported from India as minstrels. — Story of Bahrám, his wicked minister *Rást-Ravish* (or *Rást-Rúshan* in MS.), the shepherd and the faithless dog. (113) The Kháqán of Turkistán invades Persia. Bahrám's feigned flight to *Adhar-bayján*. He defeats and kills the Kháqán in a night attack. He invades India and marries the daughter of the king of that country. He dies at the age of 63 years.

(16) *Yazdigird son of Bahrám Gúr.*

He had an uneventful reign of 17 years.

(17) *Hurmazd son of Yazdigird (114).*

Civil war between him and his elder brother, Fíruz. He reigns only one year.

(18) *Firúz son of Yazdigird.*

The great famine in his days. — His justice and firmness. — Cities founded by him. — He is killed in battle by Khush-Nawáz the Turk, after a reign of ten years.

(19) *Balásh son of Fíruz.*

His brother Qubád flees from him. — Súfrá, the *Jahán-pahlawán*, or world-warrior, of the period, avenges the death of Fíruz on the Turks. Balásh dies after a reign of five years.

(20) *Qubád son of Fíruz.*

In Pahlawí he is called Lúkard. Mazdak appears in his reign (115). His communistic teachings. Deposition of Qubád in favour of his brother Jámásp. — Qubád is restored by the help of the Haytals. His son Núshírwán destroys Mazdak and his followers. — Cities founded by Qubád. He reigned 64 years, saving 3 years during which his brother Jámásp ruled.

(21) *Anúsharwán (Núshírwán).*

He was the first Sásánian king who was known as Kisrá, a title given to all his successors. His justice. His institutions. His defences against the people of Qipcháq. His *Sipah-sálárs* Shíránsháh (Sharwánsháh) etc. (116). The book of *Kalila and Dimna* and the game of chess brought from India in his reign. — Drafts invented by Buzurjmihr. — The “Year of the Elephant”, in which the Abyssinians under Abraha attacked Mecca, was the 40th year of his reign. In the same year the Prophet Muḥammad was born. Núshírwán reigned 48 years. — His epitaph. — His aphorisms (116—119).

(22) *Hurmazd son of Nūshirwān.*

His tyranny. — (120) Persia is invaded on all sides, by Turks, Khazars, Arabs and Greeks. The last three are pacified by concessions, and Bahrām Chúbín is sent to fight the Turks, whom he defeats, and whose leader, Sáwa-Sháh, he kills. He is insulted by Hurmazd, who charges him with keeping for himself the best of the booty, and, casting off his allegiance, pronounces in favour of Prince Parwíz, who retires to Armenia, and marries the daughter of the king of that country. Hurmazd is deposed, blinded and killed after a reign of 12 years, and his son Parwíz is placed on the throne. Genealogy of Bahrām Chúbín. He defeats Parwíz, who flees to the Qayṣar of Rúm, and marries his daughter Maryam. He returns to Persia, conquers Bahrām Chúbín, and puts him to flight. (121) At the instigation of Parwíz, Bahrām Chúbín is murdered in Turkistán after he had maintained a successful rebellion for two years.

(23) *Khusraw Parwíz.*

He was the eighteenth in descent from Ardashír Bábakán, and all his ancestors were kings. His luxury, pomp and power. — Some of his wonderful possessions. (122) Bárbad the minstrel, and the 360 tunes he invented. Parwíz obtains possession of the Qayṣar's treasures. — The Prophet Muḥammad's letter to Parwíz and its reception. The Prophet curses him. His son Shírúya rebels against him and kills him. — He reigned 38 years. — Some of his sayings.

(24) *Shírúya son of Parwíz (123).*

He killed many of his brothers and relations, but died of the plague at the age of 22 after a reign of 6 months.

(25) *Ardashír son of Shírúya.*

He was still but a child when he was murdered by a servant after a reign of 18 months. One of the nobles of

Parwíz named Qará'in then usurped the supreme power, but was killed two years later.

(26) *Túrán [Púrán] Dukht, daughter of Parwíz.*

She reigned only six months. In her reign the Prophet Muḥammad died.

(27) *Ázarmí-Dukht, daughter of Parwíz.*

Her beauty and intelligence. She kills one of her generals who tries to make love to her. She reigned only four months.

(28) *Farrukh-zád.*

He was a grandson of Shírúya. His mother was a singer of Isfahán named *Shakar* (Sugar), and his parentage uncertain. After a reign of one month he also was murdered by a slave.

(29) *Yazdigird son of Shahriyár son of Parwíz.*

(124) He was the last Sásánian king. His life was saved by his nurse when Shírúya killed so many of his relatives. In the Caliphate of 'Umar, Sa'd b. Waqqás attacks Persia. — Defeat and death of Rustam son of Farrukh-zád at Qádi-siyya. — Flight of Yazdigird to Merv. — He is defeated by Máhúy Súrí and Bízhan, takes refuge in the house of a miller, and is killed by order of Máhúy. He nominally reigned twenty years, but effectively for four years only.

### CHAPTER III. — THE PROPHET AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

(125) *Introduction. On the Prophet's genealogy.*

The pre-existent "Light of Muḥammad" (*Núr-i-Muḥammad*).  
 (126) How that Light descended from Adam, in whom it first appeared, through the prophets and Arab tribes (127) to Quraysh and the Prophet's family.

(128) *Section 1. Account of the Prophet's life.*

His position amongst the prophets. His birth and horoscope. (129) Portents which heralded his birth. Saṭīḥ interprets the omens. Full genealogy of the Prophet (130) up to Adam. His mother Āmina. Death of his father ‘Abdu’llāh. His childhood. (131) Death of Āmina. — Death of ‘Abdu’l-Muṭṭalib. — His uncle Abú Ṭālib becomes his guardian. — He goes as a merchant to Syria. He is nick-named “the Trusty” (*al-Amin*). He enters Khadīja’s service, and marries her. Abú Ṭālib’s *khutba* (homily) on (132) this occasion. At the age of 35 he is chosen by Quraysh to replace the Black Stone at Mecca. During a period of famine he supports ‘Alí, ‘Abbās and Ja‘far, in order to relieve Abú Ṭālib. — Beginning of the Revelations in his fortieth year (133). All sacred books were revealed in the month of Ramaḍān. — Muḥammad comforted by his wife Khadīja and her cousin Waraqa b. Nawfal. The conversions of Khadīja, ‘Alí, (134) Zayd, Abú Bakr, ‘Uthmān, Ṭalḥa, Zubayr, Sa‘d b. Abí Waqqās, ‘Abdu’r-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf and Abú ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ all took place within 20 days of Muḥammad’s call. — Enmity of Quraysh. Conversion of ‘Umar, who was the fortieth convert during the first three years of the Prophet’s Mission. Islām now began to be preached openly. — Persecution of the Muslims. (135) Flight of ‘Uthmān and his wife Ruqayya, and Ḥamza to Abyssinia. — The miracle of the “Cleaving of the Moon”. — Death of Abú Ṭālib and Khadīja in the 10th year of the Prophet’s Mission, which he therefore named “the Year of Woe”. The Prophet goes to Ṭā‘if. (136) He is badly received, but is consoled by the conversion of a company of the *Ḥinn*. His Ascension (*Mi‘rāj*). — Conversion of many of the people of al-Madīna. — The people of Mecca, instigated by Iblís in the form of an old man of Najd, try to kill the Prophet. — His Flight (*hijrat*) to al-Madīna. — The

first mosque built there. — The Anṣār. (137) Treachery of the Jews of al-Madína. — The *qibla* changed from Jerusalem to Mecca. The Prophet's wars with the unbelievers in A. H. 1 and other events of that year, including his marriage with 'A'isha. (138) A. H. 2. The Prophet gives his daughter Fáṭima in marriage to his cousin 'Alí. (139). She was then 13 years old. She bore him 3 sons, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and Muḥsin, and two daughters, Zaynab and Umm Kulthúm. She died A. H. 11, six months after her father. (140) 'Alí nick-named Abú Turáb. — The Fast of Ramaḍán instituted. (141) Battle of Badr. — Death of Ruqayya, the wife of 'Uthmán. Umm Kulthúm is given to him in marriage in her place. (142) Persians defeated by Arabs. — A. H. 3. Wine prohibited. Battle of Uḥud (143). Muslims defeated, 65 slain, and the Prophet loses a tooth. 'Alí's sword is broken, and the Prophet gives him Dhu'l-Fiqr instead, Ḥamza killed. A. H. 4. (144) Other battles. A. H. 5 (145) Attack on al-Madína, which Salmán the Persian helps to fortify. 'Alí kills 'Amr b. 'Antar. — Defeat and slaughter of the Jews of Qurayḍha. A. H. 6. Wars with Banú Liḥyán and Banú Muṣṭaliq (146). The scandal concerning 'A'isha, and the Revelation exculpating her. Conversions of 'Amr b. 'Aṣ and Khálid b. Walíd. (147) The Prophet sends letters to the rulers of adjacent countries inviting them to embrace Islám. The King of Egypt answered politely and sent presents, including the girl Máriya (whom the Prophet took in marriage, and who bore him Ibráhím), and the mule Duldul, which was given to 'Alí. The King of Syria did not answer at all. The King of Yamáma answered politely, but declined to accept Islám. The Kings of 'Umán, Baḥrayn and Abyssinia accepted Islám and wrote polite answers. Heracleus, the Emperor of the Romans, secretly accepted Islám, though he concealed his belief, and wrote a polite answer. Khusraw Parwíz, King of Persia, tore the Prophet's letter in pieces and reviled

him. The Prophet's curse was the cause of the downfall of the Persian Empire and the House of Sásán. (148) A. H. 7. Conquest of Khaybar. 'Alí's valour. Fadak surrenders. Attempt to poison the Prophet. Death of Umm Kulthúm. (149) The miracle of the weeping tree. A. H. 8. (150) Khálid b. Walíd becomes Amír. Subjugation of Mecca. (151) Other battles. (152) Death of the King (*Najáshi*) of Abyssinia. Wholesale conversions of Arab tribes. Appearance of Musaylima the False Prophet. — Death of Zaynab. — Birth of the Prophet's son Ibráhím. A. H. 9 (153) Unbelievers forbidden to make the Pilgrimage to Mecca. A. H. 10. Death of Ibráhím. The "Farewell Pilgrimage". A. H. 10. The Prophet's illness. Abú Bakr appointed to act as his deputy. (154) Death of the Prophet. — His funeral. — Şafiyya's elegy on him (155). Fátima's elegy, and another's. — *Personal characteristics of the Prophet*. (156) Difference between the obligations laid on him and those laid on his followers. (157) *The Prophet's fourteen wives*. Khadíja, Zaynab and Isáf died during his lifetime; 'Aliya and Khawla he divorced; the remaining nine were 'A'isha, Súdá, Hafsa, Umm Salma, Zaynab, Juwayriya, Şafiyya, Maymúna and Umm Habíba. He had four other wives with whom he did not cohabit, and five other women he sought in marriage but did not actually marry. He had also two concubines. — Further account of these wives and the children they bore to the Prophet. — Why God caused his sons to die in infancy (158—162). The Prophet's four daughters and their history. — (162) The Prophet's amanuenses. — His names and titles. — (163) His uncles and aunts. — His slaves and handmaidens. — His horses (164). His swords, coats of mail, bows, shield, spears, helmets, staves, turban, cloak and other personal possessions. — His ass, camels, sheep, garments and other gear (165).

*Section 2. The Five Orthodox Caliphs.*

These reigned in all 30 years. *The first Caliph was Abú Bakr.* His (166) biography. Apostacy of the Arabs. — Twelve armies sent against them, *viz.* against (1) Ṭulayḥa, (2) Sajjá'a [Sajāḥ] (167). Dissension between Abú Bakr and 'Umar about Khálid. (3) Musaylima (168). (4) Hajar in Baḥrayn, and eight other expeditions, all in A. H. 11. — A. H. 12. War with Persians. Hurmazd and Qárin. (169) Híra and Khawarnaq taken. — (170) Shírzád and Hilál defeated. — Syria attacked. — Death of Abú Bakr and accession of 'Umar. Khálid replaced by Abú 'Ubayda b. al-Jarráḥ. (171) Death of Abú Bakr at the age of 63 after governing the Muslims for two years. (172) Abú Bakr's three sons. — 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭáb succeeds as the second Caliph in A. H. 13. Why entitled *Fáruq*. — (173) The campaign against Syria. (174) Abú 'Ubayda dies at Hims, and is replaced as governor of Syria by Mu'áwiya b. Abí Sufyán. — Success of the Egyptian Campaign. — The Persian Campaign: successive defeats of Rustam, Narsí and Jálínús. — Chaldaea occupied by the Arabs. (175) Bahman Jádú defeats and pursues the Arabs, but withdraws on account of disturbances in Persia. — Yazdigird is made king. — His interview with the Arab envoys sent by Sa'd b. Abí Waqqás, and the fear with which their words inspire him. (176) The Battle of Qádisiyya. — Death of Rustam and defeat of the Persians. — Baṣra founded, A. H. 16. — Amount of spoil taken from al-Madá'in (Ctesiphon) by the Arabs. (177) Defeat of the Persians at Ḥulwán. — Tekrít reduced. (178) The Persians prepare for another battle, (179) which is fought at Naháwand and results in the defeat of the Persians. — The trick by which Hurmuzán saves his life. — The Taxes imposed by 'Umar in 'Iráq and Sawád. — Hamadán taken. (180) Ray, Isfahán, Kirmán, Sístán and Mukrán are taken or capitulate in A. H. 22. Ādharbayján, Arrán,

Múghán, Gushtásfí and Shirwán taken or surrendered. (181) Gurjistán surrenders. — Herát, Merv, Balkh and Níshápúr taken. The flight of Yazdigird. He is murdered by order of Máhúy Súrí. — Fárs subdued. An instance of telepathy. (182) The cave by Naháwand whence the voice issued visited by the author. (183) ‘Umar assassinated by Abú Lú’lú’a the Persian in A. H. 23. Before his death he appoints the council of six to elect his successor. (184) ‘Umar’s children. He was first entitled *Amíru’l-Mú’mínin*. — (185) His governors and officers. — *Accession of ‘Uthman, the third Caliph*. (186) His election. — His nepotism. — ‘Amr b. ‘Aş sent to subdue Egypt, which apostasized. (187) Renewed war with the Qaysar of Rúm. He is killed by ‘Abdu’lláh b. Zubayr, and his army defeated. — Andalusia invaded. (188) A. H. 29. ‘Uthmán’s recension of the *Qur’án*. ‘Abdu’lláh b. Sabá the Jew stirs up revolt against ‘Uthmán. (189—191) Ten complaints made against ‘Uthmán, and his answers to them. (191—192) Murder of ‘Uthmán at the age of 81. — (192) His eleven sons. *Accession of ‘Ali b. Abi Ṭálib, the fourth Caliph* in A. H. 25. (193) Hostility of ‘Amr b. al-‘Aş and other leaders of the Banú Umayya towards ‘Alí. (194) Mu‘áwiya demands the surrender of ‘Uthmán’s murderers from ‘Alí. Ṭalḥa, Zubayr and ‘A’isha combine against ‘Alí and establish themselves at Başra. — The Battle of the Camel. (195). The Battle of Şiffín. Mu‘áwiya appeals to the Word of God. (196) The Arbitration at Dawmatu’l-Jandal. Cursing from the pulpit instituted by Mu‘áwiya and ‘Alí after this, and continued for 60 years ere it was abolished by ‘Umar b. ‘Abdu’l-‘Azíz. — Mu‘áwiya makes ‘Amr b. al-‘Aş governor of Egypt. (197) The Khawárij. — ‘Alí defeats them at Nahruwán. — Three Khárijites conspire against the lives of ‘Alí, Mu‘áwiya and ‘Amr b. al-‘Aş. (198) They fix on Friday, Ramaḍán 17, A. H. 40, as the day for their attempt. — ‘Alí is assassinated in the Mosque at Kúfa by ‘Abdu’r-Raḥmán b. Muljam. —

‘Alí’s tomb and its history. He was 69 years of age when he was killed, having been Caliph for  $4\frac{3}{4}$  years. He had 35 (or 32) children, of whom the names of 11 sons are recorded. (199) Account of these. Account of 13 of his daughters. — (200). Some of ‘Alí’s sayings. *His son Ḥasan, called al-Mujtabá, succeeds as fifth Caliph.* He makes peace with Mu‘áwiya. — Terms of this agreement. (201) Mu‘áwiya became supreme ruler in A. H. 41, and with his accession the Caliphate was changed into a temporal sovereignty. Mu‘áwiya instigates one of Ḥasan’s wives to poison him. (202) His death and burial. His 14 sons.

(203) *Section 3. The remaining ten Imáms.*

[The first two Imáms, ‘Alí and his son Ḥasan, alone exercised temporal power. The remaining ten were as follows: —]

(3) *Ḥusayn b. ‘Alí b. Abí Tálíb.*

He was Imám during 11 years, 11 months and 6 days. He was born on Sha‘bán 2, A. H. 4, at al-Madína. His son and successor ‘Alí Zaynu’l-‘Ábidín was born when he was 42 years old, and was 14 years old when his father was killed at Kerbelá in A. H. 61. Ḥusayn’s head and his captive family before Yazíd. His seven sons and two daughters. He was 56 years old at the time of his death (204).

(4) *‘Alí Zaynu’l-‘Ábidín b. Ḥusayn.*

He was born at al-Madína in A. H. 46, and held the Imámate for 33 years, 2 months and 27 days. His son Muḥammad al-Báqir, who succeeded him, was born when he was 19 years old, and his grandson Ja‘far-i-Ṣádiq when he was 37. He died at the end of A. H. 74 at al-Madína, poisoned, as the Shí‘a assert, by command of Walíd b. ‘Abdu’l-Malik. His eight sons and five daughters. He was over 48 years of age at the time of his death.

(5) *Muḥammad al-Báqir b. ʿAlí b. Ḥusayn.*

He was Imám for 22 years, 7 months and 8 days, was born in A. H. 65 at al-Madína, was 18 years old when his son and successor Jaʿfar-i-Šádiq was born, and died in A. H. 117 at al-Madína. The Shíʿa say that he was poisoned by order of Hishám b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik. He was 52 years old at the time of his death. He had six sons and two daughters.

(6) *Jaʿfar aš-Šádiq b. Muḥammad al-Báqir.*

(205) He was Imám for 31 years, and 8 days, was born at al-Madína in A. H. 83, lived 65 years and 4 months, and thus attained a greater age than any other of the Imáms, of whom, excepting ʿAlí, he was also the most learned. He first nominated his elder son Ismaʿíl to succeed him, but deposed him because he had drunk wine, and replaced him by Músá al-Kádhim. Ismaʿíl pre-deceased his father, who caused him to be publicly buried, so that all might be aware of his death. This is denied by the Ismaʿílí sect. Jaʿfar died in A. H. 148 at al-Madína. The Shíʿa say that he was poisoned by command of Jaʿfar Abu'd-Dawáníq. He had six sons and seven daughters. One of his sons, Muḥammad, is buried in Jurján at the place called *Gúr-i-Surkh* ("the Red Tomb").

(7) *Músá al-Kádhim b. Jaʿfar aš-Šádiq.*

He was Imám for 34 years, 6 months and 21 days, was born in A. H. 128 at al-Madína and lived 55 years and 5 days. His son and successor ʿAlí ar-Riḍá was born when he was 24 years old. He died at Baghdad in A. H. 183, (206) and was buried at Karkh. The Shíʿa say that he was murdered by order of Hárún ar-Rashíd, who caused molten lead to be poured down his throat. He had 31 sons, of whom the names of 25 are recorded, and of whom many are buried in Persia, and 28 daughters, of whom the names of 16 are recorded, and of whom two are buried at Qum.

(8) *‘Alī ar-Riḍā b. Mūsā al-Kādhim.*

He was Imám for 27 years and 23 days, was born at al-Madína in A. H. 151 and lived 51 years, 2 months and 26 days. His son and successor Muḥammad at-Taḳí, called Jawád, was born when he was about 44 years of age. He died at Ṭús in Khurásán in A. H. 203, poisoned, as the Shí‘a assert, by the Caliph al-Ma‘mún. He had five sons and one daughter (207).

(9) *Muḥammad at-Taḳí b. ‘Alī ar-Riḍā.*

He was Imám for 16 years, 8 months and 26 days, was born at al-Madína in A. H. 195, and lived 24 years, 9 months and 18 days. His son ‘Alí an-Naḳí was born when he was about 19 years old. He died at Baghdad in A. H. 220, and was buried at Karkh. The Shí‘a say that he was poisoned by al-Mu‘taṣim. He had two sons and four daughters.

(10) *‘Alí an-Naḳí b. Muḥammad at-Taḳí.*

He was Imám for 33 years, was born at al-Madína in A. H. 224 and lived 39 years, 11 months and 18 days. His son Ḥasan al-‘Askarí was born when he was about 18 years old. He died at Sámarra in A. H. 254. The Shí‘a say that he was poisoned by the Caliph al-Mu‘tazz. He had four sons and one daughter.

(11) *Ḥasan al-‘Askarí b. ‘Alí an-Naḳí (208).*

He was Imám for 5 years, 8 months and 5 days, was born at Sámarra in A. H. 232 and lived 27 years, 2 months and 27 days. His son, the Imám Mahdí, was born when he was about  $22\frac{1}{2}$  years of age. He died in A. H. 260 at Sámarra, his son being then  $4\frac{1}{2}$  years old. The Shí‘a say that he was poisoned by the Caliph al-Mu‘tamid. He had only one son.

(12) *The Imám Mahdí, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-‘Askarí.*

He was the last of the Twelve Imáms, was Imám for

4½ years, was born at Sámarra in A. H. 255, disappeared there in the time of the Caliph al-Muṭamid, and was never again seen by mortal eyes. The Shīʿa believe that he is “the Mahdí of the Last Days”, that he still lives, and that he will re-appear in God’s good time. The Ismaʿílis, on the contrary, regard ʿUbaydu’lláh, the fourth in descent from Ismaʿíl, and the founder of the Fátimid Dynasty, as the Mahdí. The Sunnis say that the Mahdí is not yet born, and that he will be one of the descendants of ʿAlí and Fátima.

*Section 4. Account of some of the chief Companions and Followers.*

(209) Definitions of the terms “Companions” (*Aṣḥáb*) and “Followers” (*Tábiʿín*). Of these two classes more than 100,000 are mentioned in history, some of the chief of whom will be here briefly noticed. [The *Aṣḥáb*, who come first, fill pp. 209—243. They are for the most part arranged alphabetically, but mention is first made of “the Ten Harbingers” (*al-ʿAsharatu’l Mubashshara*) and the “Forty Precursors” (*al-Arbaʿúna’l-Muqaddamín*)] <sup>1)</sup>. The *Ten* include the first four Caliphs and Ṭalḥa, (210) Zubayr, Saʿd b. Abí Waqqáṣ, Saʿíd b. Zayd (211), Abú ʿUbayda, and ʿAbdu’r-Raḥmán b. ʿAwf. The *Forty* include, besides the above. Ḥamza, (212) Abú Dharr al-Ghifárí, Bilál, Jaʿfar b. Abí Ṭálib called *Ṭayyár* (“the Flier”), Khálid b. Saʿíd (213), Zayd b. al-Ḥáaritha, Khabbáb, Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭáb, Ṣuhayb b. Sinán, ʿAmmár b. Yásir, ʿAbdu’lláh b. Jaḥsh, ʿAbdu’lláh b. Masʿúd, ʿUbayda b. Ḥáarith, (214) ʿUtba b. Ghazwán, ʿAmr b. Maṭʿún, ʿAbbás b. ʿUtba, ʿAʿish b. Mughíra, Maʿmar b. ʿAbdu’lláh, Miḥjan b. al-Arwaʿ, Fuḍála b. ʿUbayd, Hishám b. al-ʿĀṣ, Arqam, ʿAbbás b. Abí Rabíʿa, Saʿd b. ʿAbdu’lláh (215) Miqdád, Muʿayqib b. Abí Fátima, Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, Hishám b.

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1) The “ten” are included in the “forty”, of whom they constitute a superior class.

‘Utba b. Abí Waqqás. [The list of the remaining “Companions”, arranged in alphabetical order, extends to p. 243, and concludes with an account of “the Hypocrites” (*Munáfiqín*) who apostasized or otherwise shewed the insincerity of their belief. Then follows (pp. 243—255) a similar alphabetical list of the “Followers” (*Tábi‘ín*).

(255) *Section 5. The Umayyad “Kings”, and their rule in Persia.*

These were 14 in number, and they ruled for 91 years.

(1) *Mu‘áwiya b. Abí Sufyán.*

His genealogy, conversion and position in Islám. The Sunnis regard him as in error in his conduct towards ‘Alí, but do not curse him because he was one of the Prophet’s Companions, and amanuenses. His absolute sovereignty dates from A. H. 41, when al-Ḥasan abdicated in his favour. He recognizes Ziyád as his brother. He makes Damascus his capital. Heroic methods adopted by Ziyád to secure order in Baṣra. (256) Yazíd placed by his father in command of the expedition against the “Romans” in A. H. 52. Its success. Death of Abú Ayyúb al-Anṣarí. Yazíd receives the people’s allegiance as successor to the throne in A. H. 56. Five persons refuse (257) to take the oath, ‘Abdu’lláh b. ‘Abbás, Ḥusayn b. ‘Alí, ‘Abdu’lláh b. Zubayr, ‘Abdulláh b. ‘Umar. ‘Abdu’r-Raḥmán b. Abí Bakr. Mu‘áwiya warns Yezíd against three of these, advises him as to his conduct, and dies in Rajab, A. H. 60, after a reign of 19 years and 3 months, at the age of 81.

(2) *Yazíd b. Mu‘áwiya (258).*

Flight of Ḥusayn and Ibn Zubayr from al-Madína. — The people of Kúfa promise support to Ḥusayn. — He sends his cousin Muslim b. ‘Aqíl to learn the temper of the people

at Kúfa. — Husayn, with his kinsfolk, and a little army of 40 horsemen and 100 infantrymen, sets out for Kúfa, in spite of the warnings of ‘Abdu’lláh b. ‘Abbás and ‘Abdu’lláh b. ‘Umar. ‘Ubaydu’lláh b. Ziyád is made governor of Kúfa. He kills Muslim and Hání. (259) Husayn’s meeting with Farazdaq. Account of the Battle of Karbalá. (260) Husayn and all his kinsmen, except his son ‘Alí Zaynu’l-‘Abidín, are killed. Of his kinsmen 17 and of his followers 124 perished. The captive women and Husayn’s head are taken before Yazíd at Damascus. The captives sent to al-Madína. (261) Yazíd takes and plunders al-Madína. Ibn Ziyád is made governor of ‘Iráq and South Persia. Success of Muslim arms in Transoxiana. Rebellion of Ibn Zubayr in A. H. 64. Yazíd causes Mecca to be bombarded, and dies, after a reign of 3 years and 2 months, at the age of 39. (262) His 13 sons.

(3) *Mu‘áwiya b. Yazíd, called ár-Ráji bi’lláh.*

He reigned only 40 days and then died.

(4) *Khálid b. Yazíd.*

He cared for science, especially Alchemy, more than statecraft (263).

(5) *Marwán b. al-Hakam.*

He married the mother of Khálid. The Battle of Marj Ráhiṭ. War with Ibn Zubayr. (264) Battle of ‘Aynu’l-Ward. Pestilence in Baṣra and Syria. Marwán is smothered by his wife to avenge an insult offered by him to her son Khálid. He was 81 years and 9 months old when he died. Two other claimants to the supreme power arise, Náfi‘ b. Azraq and Najda b. Mu‘áwiya.

(6) *‘Abdu’l-Malik b. Marwán (265).*

Revolt of Mukhtár. He avenges the death of Husayn,

claiming to act on behalf of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya. (266) Ibn Ziyád is killed. War between Mukhtár and Muṣʿab. The former is killed in A. H. 69. (267) War with the "Romans". Muṣʿab killed. (268) Ash-Shuʿbī's reminiscences, indicating the vicissitudes of fate. Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf bombards Mecca. (269) Death of ʿAbdu'lláh b. Zubayr, A. H. 73. (270) Shíráz built. The first Arabian coinage. (271) Valour of Shabíb b. Yazíd. His death by drowning. Wars with the Khárijites. (272) The Battle of Jamájim, A. H. 83. Wásit founded. Qutayba b. Muslim made governor of Khurásán. (273) The government records cease to be kept in Persian and are transferred into Arabic. The lovers Buthayna and Jamíl, and the retort made to ʿAbdu'l-Malik by the former. Death of ʿAbdu'l-Malik in Shawwál, A. H. 86, after a reign of 21 years, at the age of 62.

(7) *Walid b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik.*

His love of learning and promotion of education. His love of women. He had at one time and another 63 wives. Qutayba's conquests in Turkistán, and the spoils taken by him. Bukhárá, Samarqand, Sughd, Chách, Farghána (274) and Khwárazm taken by the Muslims. Constantinople attacked. Buildings erected at al-Madína, Damascus etc. (275) Death of al-Ḥajjáj in A. H. 95, aged 54. Instances of his severity. He had put to death in cold blood more than 100,000 men, and when he died 58,000 people, including 8000 women, were in prison, mostly for trivial reasons, by his orders. (276). Ḥajjáj's culminating crime was the execution of Saʿíd b. Jubayr, a month after which Ḥajjáj went mad, and was eaten by worms. Plague in Baṣra, followed by earthquake. Walíd died in A. H. 96, after a reign of 9 years and 8 months, at the age of 45.

(8) *Sulaymán b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik.*

Káshghar subdued by Qutayba, who then rebels against Sulaymán. (277) Qutayba conquers Gurgán and Ṭabaristán. Rise of the Barmecides (*Ál-i-Barmak*). History of the family. Why pure gold is called "*Jaʿfarí*". (278) Sulaymán died of pleurisy in Šafar, A. H. 99, after a reign of 2 years and 8 months, aged 45.

(9) *ʿUmar b. ʿAbdu'l-ʿAzíz.*

His piety and justice. He abolishes the cursing of ʿAlí. He imprisons Yazíd b. Muhallab. The Imám Muḥammad b. ʿAlí b. ʿAbdu'lláh b. ʿAbbás begins the ʿAbbásid propaganda. Death of ʿUmar b. ʿAbdu'l-Azíz in Rajab, A. H. 101. He was buried at Ḥimş (Emessa) after a reign of (279) 2 years and 5 months at the age of 33. He is said to have been poisoned by a servant at the instigation of Hishám.

(10) *Yazíd b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik.*

War with Yazíd b. Muhallab. Abú Muslim enters the service of the ʿAbbásids. (280) Yazíd's love for two singing-girls named Ḥabbába and Salláma. (281) His grief at the death of Ḥabbába causes his own death in Rajab, A. H. 105, at the age of 40, after a reign of 4 years and one month. He is buried beside her.

(11) *Hishám b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik.*

The Khazars invade Ādharbáyján. (282) Marwán repeals them and advances as far as Saqláb. Naşr b. Sayyár appointed governor of Khurásán. Death of the Imám ʿAlí b. ʿAbdu'lláh b. ʿAbbás in A. H. 118, aged 78. Rebellion of Zayd b. ʿAlí Zaynu'l-ʿAbidín in Kúfa in A. H. 121. Faithlessness of the people of Kúfa. How the name Ráfiđí came to be applied to the Shíʿa. Death of Zayd. Desecration of his tomb. (283) His son Yaḥyá imprisoned in Khurásán by

Naṣr b. Sayyár. ʿAbbásid propagandists mutilated. Death of Hishám in A. H. 125, after a reign of 19 years and 8 months, at the age of 61.

(12). *Walíd b. Yazíd b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik.*

He causes Yaḥyá b. Zayd to be released. Yaḥyá's rebellion. (284) He is killed in battle, and his body with that of his brother crucified, until, in the reign of Marwán, Abu Muslim took the bodies down, buried them, and bade his followers wear black as a sign of mourning. This is how black came to be the ʿAbbásid colour, and the partisans of the House of ʿAbbás to be called *Siyáh-púshán* (or, in Arabic, *Musawwida*). Death of the Imám Muḥammad b. ʿAlí b. ʿAbdu'lláh b. ʿAbbás in A. H. 125. He nominates his son Ibráhím to succeed him, and after him Abu'l-ʿAbbás. Walíd's atheism and impiety. He dresses one of his mistresses in his clothes and sends her to take his place in the mosque at public prayer. He is deposed, and dies in A. H. 126, at the age of 43 (285) after a reign of one year and two months.

(13) *Yazíd b. Walíd.*

His mother Sháh ʿAfaríd was the grand-daughter of Yazdigird the last Sásanian king. He inclined to the Muʿtazilite heresy. He reigned six months and died of the plague in A. H. 126.

(14) *Ibráhím b. Walíd.*

He reigned only two months, and was defeated by Marwán and killed.

(15) *Marwán b. Muḥammad b. Marwán, called al-Ḥimár*  
(*"the Ass"*).

Increasing disorder in the Empire. Revolt of al-Kirmání. Abú Muslim raises the ʿAbbásid standard near Merv on

Ramaḍān 27, A. H. 129. (286) Naṣr b. Sayyār's celebrated verses, in which he appeals for help to Marwān. Naṣr defeats al-Kirmānī, but is defeated by Abú Muslim and dies. Abú Muslim conquers Khurásān, Gurgān, Ray, Sáwa, Qum, Káshān, Naháwand, Hamadán, Ḥulwān and Shahrazúr. (287) Kúfa is taken. Abu Salama made *Wazír*. Abu'l-ʿAbbás as-Saffáh, his brother Abú Jaʿfar and their four uncles, who were in hiding at Kúfa, are acclaimed by Abú Muslim and his army. Allegiance is sworn to Abu'l-ʿAbbás as-Saffáh. Marwān cruelly puts to death Ibráhīm the brother of Abu'l-ʿAbbás. (288) Defeat of Marwān by the Euphrates. He flees to Egypt. (289) He is killed at Búṣir in Fayyúm at the end of A. H. 132, after a reign of 5 years, at the age of 55. Abu'l-ʿAbbás seeks out and kills 80 of the Umayyad princes, and holds a banquet over their remains. A "Pahlawí" verse cited *à propos* of this. Desecration of the Umayyads' graves at Damascus. Establishment of the Umayyad dynasty in Spain in A. H. 139, where they continued to rule for about 300 years.

#### *Section 6 (290). The ʿAbbásid Caliphs.*

These were 37 in number, and their rule endured 523 years, 2 months and 23 days.

##### *(1) Abu'l-ʿAbbás as-Saffáh.*

He was the fifth in descent from al-ʿAbbás, and was recognized as Caliph on the 13th of Rabíʿ I, A. H. 132. Some of his aphorisms. He buys the Prophet's mantle for 400 *dínars*. His governors. He sends his brother Abú Jaʿfar to Khurásān to investigate the doings of Abú Muslim and obtain his allegiance. Abú Salama, the "Wazír of the House of Muḥammad", is put to death on suspicion of partiality for the House of ʿAlí, and his office is given to Khálid the Barmecide. (291) Revolt of Ṭálibu'l-Ḥaqq ʿAbdu'lláh b. Yahyá. He is defeated by Abú Muslim. Abú Muslim's growing ambition.

Death of as-Saffáh at the end of A. H. 136, after a reign of 4 years and 3 months.

(2) *Abú Fa'far al-Manşúr.*

He succeeded his brother. His avarice. He is nicknamed Abu'd-Dawáníq. (292) Abú Muslim arouses his hostility. (293) Abú Muslim is induced to visit the Caliph, (294) and is murdered treacherously and his body cast into the Tigris. His soldiers are appeased. This happened on Sha'bán 25, A. H. 137. Abú Muslim was 67 years old, and was originally from Isfahán, though generally regarded as belonging to Merv, where his first successes were achieved. Rebellion of Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'lláh the 'Alawí, who claims to be the Mahdí. He is killed, but his brother Ibráhím continues the war (295) and occupies much of Southern Persia. He too is killed. His father and other relatives escape to Spain. The building of Baghdad in A. H. 145. The attempt to destroy the *Aywán-i-Kisrá*. (296) Death of al-Manşúr at the age of 63 after a reign of 22 years. His sayings. His *wazírs*. The book of *Kalíla and Dimna* translated by 'Abdu'lláh b. al-Muqaffa' from Pahlawí into Arabic. Abú Ḥanífa.

(3) *Al-Mahdí.*

He was the sixth in descent from al-'Abbás. (297) His generosity and prodigality. (298) Rebellion of 'Abdu'lláh b. Mu'áwiya the 'Alawí at Isfahán. He is conquered and dies in captivity. Rebellion of Ḥakam b. Háshim, "the Moon-Maker", known as al-Burqa'í and al-Muqanna'. He claims to be God, and many follow him in Kash and Nakhshab. Being closely pressed, he poisons all his companions and kills himself and consumes his body, so that it was believed by his followers that he had disappeared. This happened in A. H. 166. Account of the *wazírs* of al-Mahdí (299—300). Death of al-Mahdí in Ramaḍán, A. H. 179, after a reign of 13 years and 1 month at the age of 43.

(4) *Al-Hádì b. Mahdì.*

He was 7th in descent from al-ʿAbbás. He was in Gurgán when his father died and he became Caliph. Another ʿAlawí revolt. Idrís takes part of Andalusia, where his descendants reigned for more than 300 years. The *Zindiqs* (Manichæans) become prominent in his reign. ʿAbdu'lláh b. al-Muqaffaʿ is one of their leaders. (301) His translation into Arabic of the *Book of Kalila and Dimna*. His attempt to imitate the *Qur'án*. He and his confederates are put to death by al-Hádì. Death of al-Hádì on 16 Rabíʿ i, A. H. 173, ascribed to Divine wrath at a cruel and unprovoked murder on his part. (302) He reigned one year and 3 months. His *wazírs*.

(5) *Hárúnu'r-Rashíd.*

He was the seventh in descent from al-ʿAbbás. The death of his brother and predecessor, his accession, and the birth of his son and successor al-Ma'mún all took place on one night. His uncle, his father's uncle and his grandfather's uncle were all amongst those who took the oath of allegiance to him. He makes Yahyá b. Khálíd al-Barmakí ("the Barmecide") his *wazír*. Power of the Barmecides for 17 years. Hárún's respect for men of learning, especially the Imám Málik. His strict observance of religious obligations and his charity to the poor (303) and munificence to the learned. Legal quibbles whereby the Qádí Abú Yúsuf enables Hárún to gratify his passions. (304) Zubayda bears to Hárún his son al-Amín, whom, in his fifth year, Hárún nominates as his successor. Revolt of Yahyá b. ʿAbdu'lláh the ʿAlawí in A. H. 176. By what statagem he was brought to Baghdad and ultimately poisoned. Hárún divided his empire between his three sons, al-Amín, al-Ma'mún and al-Mu'taman, whose names were included in this order in the *khutba*. Story of Ja'far the Barmecide and Hárún's sister ʿAbbása. (305) Hárún's

slaughter of the Barmecides in A. H. 187. Virtues of Yaḥya. Repentence of Hárún. (306) Faḍl b. Rabīʿ made *wazīr*. War with Byzantines, A. H. 190. Revolt of Ráfiʿ b. Layth b. Naṣr b. Sayyár in Khurásán against ʿAlí b. ʿĪsá b. Kháqán. Hárún sends Harthama thither. He marches himself to Hamadán. (307) Death of Hárún at Ṭús on 3 Rabīʿ ii, A. H. 193, after a reign of 23 years and 2½ months at the age of 42. Virtues of his wife Zubayda.

(6) *Al-Amín b. Hárún.*

He was the eighth in descent from al-ʿAbbás, and was the only caliph descended from him on both sides. His love of women and new fashions in dress. His demands of his brother al-Ma'mún. (308) Al-Ma'mún's *wazīr*, Faḍl b. Sahl the Persian. Anecdote of his conversion from the faith of Zoroaster to that of Muḥammad. Al-Amín strives to divest his two brothers of their rights and nominate his son Músá as his successor. Outbreak of war between al-Amín and al-Ma'mún. (309) Their respective generals, ʿAlí b. ʿĪsá b. Máhán and Ṭáhir "*Dhu'l-Yamínayn*" ("the Ambidexter"). Victory of Ṭáhir near Ray. Another victory over al-Amín's troops at Hamadán. Al-Ma'mún's troops occupy the Pass of Ḥulwán. They are re-inforced by Harthama. Ahwáz, Baṣra, Wásit and al-Madá'in yield to al-Ma'mún. (310) Death of al-Amín and capture of Baghdad on Muḥarram 5, A. H. 198. Al-Ma'mún's reception (311) of the news. Al-Amín had reigned 4 years and 9 months, and was 27 years of age at the time of his death.

(7) *Al-Ma'mún b. Hárún.*

He also was eighth in descent from al-ʿAbbás. His character. His trust in his *wazīr* Faḍl b. Sahl "*Dhu'r Riyásatayn*". (312) Revolt of the ʿAlawí Ṭabáṭabá in Kúfa. Other ʿAlawí revolts. Faḍl b. Sahl induces al-Ma'mún to nominate

the Imám ʿAlí ar-Riḍá [the 8th Imám of the Shíʿa] to succeed him (313), give his daughter Zaynab to him in marriage, and change the ʿAbbásid black for the ʿAlawí green. Anger of the other ʿAbbásids, who wish to depose al-Maʿmún in favour of his uncle Ibráhím. Al-Maʿmún, in Muḥarram, A. H. 202, causes Faḍl b. Sahl to be murdered in the bath, and then puts his murderers to death. He deposes his rival Músá. His marriage with Púrán, the daughter of Ḥasan b. Sahl. Splendour of the wedding. (314) Death of Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar aṣ-Ṣádiq (A. H. 203) in Jurján. His tomb is known as "the Red Tomb" (*Gúr-i-Surkh*: see p. 49 *supra*). Al-Maʿmún's love of learning. Translations from the Greek and Syriac undertaken by his orders. His weekly conferences on literary and scientific matters. His generosity to the poor. (315) Quarrel between ʿAbdu'lláh b. Ṭáhir and al-Muʿtaṣim. (316) Death of Ṭáhir in Khurásán. His son Ṭalḥa succeeds him in that government. Rebellion put down in Egypt. Appearance of the false prophet Bábak in Adharbáyján. Death of al-Maʿmún on Rajab 7, A. H. 228, after a reign of 8 years and 7 months, at the age of 48. He was buried at Tarsus. Various statements as to the causes of his death. His Muʿtazilite views. His severity towards the orthodox, especially Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. (317) His sayings.

(8) *Al-Muʿtaṣim b. Hárún.*

He also was the eighth in descent from al-ʿAbbás, and also the eighth Caliph of this family. He reigned 8 years, 8 months and 8 days; died at the age of 48; had 8 sons, 8 daughters and 8000 slaves; won 8 notable victories; killed 8 eminent princes; and left 8 million *dinárs* to his heirs. For these reasons he is called *al-Khalífatu'l-Muthamman*. (318) Character of al-Muʿtaṣim. Increasing power of Bábak "Khurram-dín", the false prophet. He is finally defeated, and 40,000 of his followers slain, by Ḥaydar (or Khaydhar) b. Káwús, better

known as Afshín. Bábak and his brother are mutilated and slain at Sámarra on Şafar 3, A. H. 223. Bábak's executioner (one of ten) confesses to having killed more than 20,000 persons. Campaign against the Greeks. (319) 'Ammúriyya taken by al-Mu'taşim. Abortive conspiracy against him. His zeal for Islám. He undertakes a successful winter campaign against the Greeks to release a captive Muslim women. He builds the town of Sámarra, or Surra man ra'a, for his Turkish guards. (320) Rebellion of Mázyár b. Qárún in Ṭabaristán. His followers wear red clothes and profess the tenets of Bábak. Mázyár is defeated and taken captive by 'Abdu'lláh b. Ṭáhir. He is scourged and crucified opposite Bábak. Compromising letters from Afshín are found amongst Mázyár's papers, and Afshín is tried and condemned to death. Al-Mu'taşim, like his predecessor, holds the Mu'tazilite doctrine, and persecutes the orthodox. He refuses to ransom from the Christians Muslim prisoners who regard the Qur'án as increate. Death of al-Mu'taşim in Rabí' i, A. H. 227. He is buried at Sámarra. His *wazírs*. (321).

(9) *Al-Wáthiq bi'lláh b. al-Mu'taşim.*

He was the ninth in descent from al-'Abbás. He also was a Mu'tazilite, but friendly to the House of 'Alí and a patron of the learned. In consequence of this, and of his learning and eloquence, he is called "the Lesser Ma'mún" (*al-Ma'múnu'l-Aşghar*). He was also a good poet and musician. Death of 'Abdu'lláh b. Ṭáhir, whose son Ṭáhir succeeds him in A. H. 230 in the government of Khurásán. The quarter of Karkh in Baghdad is burned down. Liberality of al-Wáthiq to the distressed. He is persuaded by his chamberlain to be equally liberal towards the people of Farghána. (322) Story of a *darwísh* who proves the Caliph. How al-Wáthiq was cured of the dropsy, but (323), failing to follow his physician's advice, died of a recurrence of the disease at the end

of Dhu'l-Hijja, A. H. 232 at Sámarra. Anecdotes concerning his death and last moments.

(10) *Al-Mutawakkil b. al-Muʿtaṣim.*

He was the ninth in descent from al-ʿAbbás. Seven persons swore allegiance to him who were the sons of previous Caliphs of his house. Satirical verses by Diʿbil al-Khuzáʿi on al-Mutawakkil and his predecessor. (324) Al-Mutawakkil's hatred of the Shíʿa and the House of ʿAlí. He destroys the tomb of al-Ḥusayn in A. H. 233, and prevents pilgrimages thither. He nominated his son Muntaṣir to succeed him, and was the first Caliph openly to declare who should succeed him. Power of Faṭḥ b. Kháqán. (325) Bukht-Yishúʿ the physician. Disabilities imposed on non-Muslims. Revolt of Zayd b. Aḥmad al-Báqirí. Al-Mutawakkil's five sons. (326) Al-Mutawakkil and his favourite Faṭḥ b. Kháqán murdered on the same night, in the middle of Shawwál, A. H. 247. He had reigned 14 years, 9 months and 9 days, and was 42 years of age. Ascendancy of the Turkish soldiery under Waṣíf and Búqá. Caliphs made and deposed or killed by them. This ascendancy lasted nearly 90 years, until the time of the Daylamites, and included the reigns of twelve Caliphs (327).

(11) *Al-Muntaṣir b. al-Mutawakkil.*

He was the tenth in descent from al-ʿAbbás. He showed favour to the House of ʿAlí. He reigned only 6 months, and died early, like other parricides, in the middle of Rabíʿ ii, A. H. 248, at the age of 25.

(12) *Al-Mustaʿin bi'lláh.*

He was the tenth in descent from al-ʿAbbás, like his cousin, whom he succeeded. Ṭáhir b. ʿAbdu'lláh b. Ṭáhir dies, and is succeeded in the government of Khurásán by his son Aḥmad. Revolt of Yaʿqúb b. Layth aṣ-Ṣaffár in Sístán.

Revolt of Ḥasan b. Zayd al-ʿAlawí, called *ad-Dáʿí ila'l-Ḥaqq* in Ṭabaristán in A. H. 250. (328) His successes. He ultimately died after a reign of 19 years in A. H. 270, and was succeeded by his brother Muḥammad, who reigned for 18 years, and was finally killed by Muḥammad b. Hárún aided by Ismaʿíl-i-Sámání. Al-Mustaʿín was finally deposed by the Turks at the end of Muḥarram, A. H. 252, and afterwards (329) murdered, after a reign of 3 years, 9 months and 2 days, at the age of 27.

(13) *Al-Muʿtazz b. al-Mutawakkil.*

He was the tenth in descent from al-ʿAbbás. His learning and accomplishments. Ad-Dáʿí ila 'l-Ḥaqq adds Qazwín, Abhar and Zanján to his possessions, and collects a following of 10,000 man. Músá b. Búqá is sent against him, and (330) defeats him by a stratagem in A. H. 253. Yaʿqúb b. Layth, in A. H. 255, conquers Khurásán, Quhistán, Kirmán and Fárs. Al-Muʿtazz murders his brother al-Muʿayyad. He himself is murdered by the Turks (331) after a reign of 3 years, 6 months and 21 days, at the age of 23, on Rajab 17, A. H. 255.

(14) *Al-Muhtadí b. Wáthiq.*

He was the tenth in descent from al-ʿAbbás. His poetry. His Muʿtazilite convictions. Owing to his piety, he is compared to ʿUmar b. ʿAbdu'l-ʿAzíz. (332) His personal superintendence of the administration of justice. The revolt of the Ethiopian slaves (*Zanj*) at Baṣra, under the ʿAlawí ʿAlí b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Báqir, called *al-Burqaʿí* ("the Veiled") in A. H. 255. They hold Baṣra and the surrounding region for 14 years and some months. Al-Muhtadí excludes all Jews and Christians from state employment. He desires to disband the Turkish guards, who, learning his intention (333), depose him on Rajab 28, A. H. 256, and a few days later secretly put him to death, he being then 32 years of age.

(15) *Al-Muʿtamid bi'lláh b. al-Mutawakkil.*

He was the tenth in descent from al-Abbás, and succeeded to some extent in restoring the prestige of the Caliphate. Yaʿqúb b. Layth adopts the heresy of the Báṭínís (Ismaʿílís), takes Ṭabaristán from ad-Dáʿí ila'l-Ḥaqq, and marches on Baghdád. The Caliph sends his brother al-Muwaffaq bi'lláh against him. (334) Yaʿqúb, deserted by most of the Amírs of Khurásán, is defeated and flees to Khúzistán. His bold reply to the Caliph's conciliatory message. He dies of colic. Al-Muwaffaq is sent against al-Burqaʿí and the Ethiopian slaves in A. H. 270. Al-Burqaʿí is killed and his head sent to Baghdád. It is buried by Sayyid ar-Raḍí. Al-Muwaffaq governs the Ḥijáz and Baṣra until A. H. 270. (335) Revolt in ʿIráq-i-ʿAjam of another ʿAlawí named Ḥasan b. ʿAlí, called al-Uṭrúsh ("the Deaf") and entitled an-Náṣir bi'lláh. Various relatives nominated by al-Muʿtamid to succeed him. Death of al-Muʿtamid in Rajab, A. H. 279 from over-eating, after a reign of 23 years at the age of 51.

(16) *Al-Muʿtaḍid* (MS. -*Muqtaḍid*) *bi'lláh b. al-Muwaffaq.*

He was the eleventh in descent from al-ʿAbbás. His character. He is called "the second Saffáh". He transfers his capital from Surra man ra'a to Baghdád. (336) His sayings and verses. Ibnu'r-Rúmi's verses on him. His severity in punishment. (337) In consequence of a vision, he honours the House of ʿAlí. Alarmed by the growth of the Ṣaffárí power, he stirs up Ismaʿíl the Sámání against them. He restores the Persian Naw-rúz (338) from the Vernal Equinox to Midsummer<sup>1</sup>). He died after a reign of 9 years and 9 months at the end of Rabíʿ i, A. H. 289, at the age of 47.

(17) *Al-Muktafi bi'lláh b. al-Muʿtaḍid* (MS. -*Muqtaḍid*).

He was the twelfth in descent from al-ʿAbbás. His cha-

<sup>1</sup>) See al-Bírúní's *al-Átháru'l-Báqiya*, ed. Sachau, pp. 31—33 and 215—217 (translation pp. 36—39 and 199—201).

racter. His verses. Rebellion of Zikrawayhi b. Mahruwayhi the Carmathian in A. H. 294. He conquers Kúfa, Diyár Bakr and part of Syria, sacks Mecca, kills many of the pilgrims, and closes the Ka<sup>c</sup>ba. Finally he is killed by the Caliph's armies, and his head sent round the empire. (339) Al-Muktafi reigned 6 years, 7 months and 20 days, and died at the age of 34 on Dhu'l-Qa<sup>c</sup>da 13, A. H. 295. His Wazírs.

(18) *Al-Muqtadir bi'lláh b. al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid* (MS. -*Muqtadid*).

He was also the twelfth in descent from al-<sup>c</sup>Abbás, and succeeded at the age of 13. Eleven years after his accession (340) certain of his Amírs desire to depose him in favour of Ibnu'l-Mu<sup>c</sup>tazz. The attempt fails, and Ibnu'l-Mu<sup>c</sup>tazz is cruelly put to death. Further conspiracies and rebellions. Isma<sup>c</sup>ílí rising in N. W. Africa, and defeat of Aghlabí princes. (341) Revolt of the Daylamís in A. H. 315. In A. H. 319 the Carmathians under Abú Sa<sup>c</sup>íd al-Jannábí again attacked Mecca and massacred the inhabitants, so that the well of Zamzam was filled with blood, and carried off the Black Stone. They then approach Baghdad. Abú Sáj is sent against them. Abú Sa<sup>c</sup>íd demonstrates the blind devotion of his followers. (342) He defeats and takes captive Abú Sáj, and chains him up amongst the dogs. Al-Muqtadir is killed on Shawwál 27, A. H. 320 at the age of 33 after a reign of 24 years and 11 months. Circumstances of his death. His Wazírs. One of them was Ibn Muqla, the celebrated calligraphist (343).

(19) *Al-Qáhir bi'lláh b. al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid* (MS. -*Muqtadid*).

He was the twelfth in descent from al-<sup>c</sup>Abbás. He massacres the Amírs of the Turkish guard, and pacifies the soldiers with money. He crucifies Abú Aḥmad b. al-Muktafi, whose rivalry he fears. (344) He reigned 1 year, 5 months and 7 days, and was deposed and blinded in Jumáda i,

A. H. 322. He survived 16 years and a half after this, and died at the age of 51.

(20) *As-Rāḍī bi'llāh b. al-Muqtadir.*

He was the thirteenth in descent from al-ʿAbbās. His poems. (345) Murder of Mardāwīj by Bajkam, who becomes *Amīru'l-Umará* of Baghdád. Ibn Muqla's right hand is cut off. (346) Tribute is paid to the Carmathians. Ar-Rāḍī reigned 6 years, 10 months and 2 days, and died on the 17th of Rabīʿ i, A. H. 329 at the age of 32 (or? 52).

(21) *Muttaqī li'llāh b. al-Muqtadir.*

He also was the thirteenth in descent from al-ʿAbbās. (347) He was deposed and blinded by Túzún, the *Amīru'l-Umará*, on Šafar 20, A. H. 333. He survived this 24 years, and died in Shaʿbān, A. H. 357. He reigned 3 years, 11 months and 11 days, and lived 50 years.

(22) *Al-Mustakfī bi'llāh b. al-Muktafī.*

He was the thirteenth in descent from al-ʿAbbās. (348), and was forty-one years of age at his accession. His sayings. Death of Túzún, the *Amīru'l-Umará*. He is succeeded in this office by Muʿizzu'd-Dawla the Daylamī. He deposed and blinded the Caliph in Jumáda ii, A. H. 334, after he had reigned 1 year and 4 months. The Caliph survived for 4 years more, and died at the age of 46.

(23) *Al-Muʿtī li'llāh b. al-Muqtadir.*

(349) He was the thirteenth in descent from al-ʿAbbās. Continued power of Muʿizzu'd-Dawla. He breaks the power of the Turks. In A. H. 339 the Carmathians, without obvious reason, restored to Mecca the Black Stone which they had carried off 20 years before, saying. "By command we took it away, and by command we restore it". Verification of a

saying of 'Alí's. (350) Miraculous circumstances connected with its restoration. Al-Muṭī'c reigned 29 years and a half, was then stricken with paralysis, abdicated in Dhu'l-Qa'ḍa A. H. 363, and died two months later.

(24) *Aṭ-Ṭá'ī'c bi'lláh b. al-Muṭī'c.*

He was the fourteenth in descent from al-'Abbás. He reigned for 17 years and 10 months. (351) In A. H. 365 Syria and the Ḥijáz passed from his control into that of the Isma'ílís. The portent of the monstrous bird in A. H. 375. Aṭ-Ṭá'ī'c, at the instigation of Bahá'u'd-Dawla the Daylamí, abdicates in Sha'bán, A. H. 381. He survived 12 years longer, and died at the age of 69.

(25) *Al-Qádir bi'lláh b. Isháq b. al-Muqtadir.*

He was the fourteenth in descent from al-'Abbás. Khurásán at first refuses to recognize the abdication of aṭ-Ṭá'í, until compelled to do so by Sulṭán Maḥmúd b. Subuktigín. (352) Al-Qádir reigned 41 years and four months. His poems. Activity of Báṭínís, and attempts at bribery on their part. (353) correspondence between al Qádir and Sulṭán Maḥmúd b. Subuktigín about the poet Firdawsí. Al-Qádir died on Dhu'l-Ḥijja 15, A. H. 422 at the age of 78. Fall of the Sámání and rise of the Ghaznawí dynasty in his time.

(26) *Al-Qá'im bi'amri'lláh b. al-Qádir.*

(354) He was the fifteenth in descent from al-'Abbás. His poetry. Decline of the Daylamí power, and rise of the House of Seljúq. Ṭughril Beg the Seljúq comes to Baghdad on Ramaḍán 22, A. H. 447. (355) War with al-Basásírí. (356) War between Ṭughril and Ibráhím 'Inál. 'Inál put to death. Al-Basásírí besieges Baghdád in Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A. H. 450. (357) For a year and 4 months the power of the Carmathians prevailed even at Baghdád. Ṭughril enters Baghdád at the

Caliph's invitation, and (358) receives the title of Ruknu'd-Dín. Al-Basásírí is killed. The Caliph marries Arslán Khátún, daughter of Chaghri Beg, and gives his own daughter, Sayyida Khátún, in marriage to Tughril Beg. Death of al-Qá'im in Shaʿbán, A. H. 467, at the age of 75 (359) after a reign of 44 years and 8 months. Great floods in Baghdád in this year. Contemporary rulers of the Houses of Ghazna, Daylam and Seljúq. Some of al-Qá'im's sayings.

(27) *Al-Muqtadí bi-amri'lláh.*

He was the seventeenth in descent from al-ʿAbbás, and was the grandson of his predecessor. He married Mah-Malik, the sister of Maliksháh the Seljúq, who bore him a son. Afterwards he married a daughter of Maliksháh. He reigned 19 years and 5 months. Beginning of the "New Propaganda" of the Ismaʿílís under the direction of Ḥasan-i-Šabbáḥ, who takes possession of the Castle of Alamút. Abú Bakr al-Ḥamawí made *qáḍí* of Baghdad. His uprightness and incorruptibility. (360) Death of al-Muqtadí in Muḥarram, A. H. 487 at the age of 37 years, 8 months and 8 days.

(28) *Al-Mustaẓhir bi'lláh b. al-Muqtadí.*

He was the eighteenth in descent from al-ʿAbbás. His sayings. His verses (361). He strengthens the fortifications of Baghdád. He reigned peacefully for 25 years, 3 months and 11 days, and died in Rabíʿ ii, A. H. 512, at the age of 41 years and a half. Contemporary rulers. Fall of the House of Daylam. Continuance of Ḥasan-i-Šabbáḥ's propaganda.

(29) *Al-Mustarshid bi'lláh b. al-Mustaẓhir.*

He was the nineteenth in descent from al-ʿAbbás. His character. His poetry. (362) He is defeated at Dínawar by Sultán Masʿúd the Seljúq, and while a captive in that Prince's hands is assassinated by the *fidá'ís* of Ḥasan-i-Šabbáḥ. Al-

Mustarshid's defeat was in Rajab, A. H. 529, and his murder took place 8 months later. He reigned 17 years and 2 months. Contemporary rulers.

(30) *Al-Ráshid b. al-Mustarshid.*

He was the twentieth in descent from al-<sup>c</sup>Abbás. He embarks on a fruitless war with Mas<sup>c</sup>úd the Seljúq to avenge his father, is driven out of Baghdád, and finally is assassinated by *fidá'is* at Işfahán on Ramaḍán 27, A. H. 532 (364).

(31) *Al-Muqtafi li-amri'lláh b. al-Mustaẓhir.*

He was the twenty-first in descent from al-<sup>c</sup>Abbás. He emancipates himself from the Seljúq tutelage. (365) Revolt of the Atábek Sunqur b. Mawdúd in Fárs. Birth of Chingíz Khán in A. H. 540. Contemporary Kings. Al-Muqtafi reigned 24 years and 11 months and died in Rabí<sup>c</sup> i, A. H. 555 at the age of 66.

(32) *Al-Mustanjid bi'lláh b. al-Muqtafi.*

He was the twenty-first in descent from al-<sup>c</sup>Abbás. His character. His poetry. (366) Anecdotes illustrating his sagacity and penetration. (367) Fall of the Fáṭimid Dynasty in Egypt, which becomes orthodox and subject to the Caliph of Baghdád. Al-Mustanjid dies in Rabí<sup>c</sup> i, A. H. 566 after a reign of 11 years. Contemporary rulers. End of the House of Ghazna, which is succeeded by the House of Ghúr.

(33) *Al-Mustaḍi' bi-amri'lláh b. al-Mustanjid.*

He was the twenty-first in descent from al-<sup>c</sup>Abbás. His character. (368) Fall and death of the *Amíru'l-Uṃará*, Quṭbu'd-Dín Qaymaz. Assassination of the Caliph's *wasír* 'Aḍudu'd-Dín. Al-Mustaḍi' reigned 9 years and 8 months, and died in Shawwál, A. H. 575. Contemporary rulers. (369).

(34) *An-Náṣir li-dīnillāh b. al-Mustaḍī*.

He was the twenty-second in descent from al-ʿAbbás. Peace and tranquillity prevail in his reign. His courage, conquests and efforts to increase the prosperity of his realms. His charities to the poor. He reigned 46 years and 11 months, the longest reign of any Caliph. In his time the Khwárazmsháhs overthrew the Seljúqs. Beginning of the Mongol Invasion. Contemporary rulers. (370) Buráq-i-Ḥájib takes Kirmán. An-Náṣir died in Shawwál, A. H. 622.

(35) *Aṣ-Ṣáhir bi-amrillāh b. an-Náṣir*.

He was the twenty-third in descent from al-ʿAbbás. He reigned only 9 months and 15 days, and died on Rajab 13, A. H. 623. Contemporary rulers.

(36) *Al-Mustaṣir bi'llāh b. aṣ-Ṣáhir*.

He was the twenty-fourth in descent from al-ʿAbbás. He reigned 16 years and 11 months. Prosperous condition of (371) his realms. The revenues of certain provinces specified were then ten times as much as they were in the author's time. The Caliph defeats the Mongols who were besieging Irbíl. In Rajab. A. H. 625 he begins to build the Mustanṣiriyya College, which was finished in A. H. 632. Contemporary rulers. Al-Mustaṣir died on the 4th of Jumáda ii, A. H. 640, at the age of 52.

(37) *Al-Mustaʿṣim bi'llāh b. al-Mustaṣir*.

(372) He was the twenty-fifth in descent from al-ʿAbbás, and the last Caliph of that House. He reigned 15 years and 7 months. His character. Hulágú Khán the Mongol takes Baghdád and kills him on Ṣafar 6, A. H. 656, he being then 46 years and 3 months old. The sack of Baghdad. In 40 days 800,000 of its inhabitants were killed. Contemporary rulers (373).

## CHAPTER IV. — MUḤAMMADAN DYNASTIES IN PERSIA.

### *Section I. — The Ṣaffārī Dynasty (373).*

This Dynasty included 3 rulers, who reigned for 33 years. Their ancestor, Layth, was a coppersmith in Sístán, who took to highway robbery, wherein, however, he observed a certain chivalry which led to his being employed in a military capacity by Dirham b. Naṣr b. Ráfi<sup>c</sup> b. Layth b. Naṣr b. Sayyár.

#### (1) *Ya<sup>c</sup>qúb b. Layth.*

His son Ya<sup>c</sup>qúb revolts against the sons of Dirham, Ṣálih and Naṣr, (374), and begins to be powerful in A. H. 237. In A. H. 253 he was in possession of the whole of Sístán. By a stratagem he defeats Tanbal the King of Kábul. Two years later he takes Herát, and shortly afterwards Kirmán. (375) He subdues Khurásán and Fárs, and is recognized by the Caliph al-Mu<sup>t</sup>tazz as King. He reigned 2 years and 6 months, and amassed much treasure. He attacks ad-Dá'í ila'l-Ḥaqq, and conquers Mázarán. He then marches on Baghdád against the Caliph al-Mu<sup>t</sup>amid, but is defeated at Hulwán, and retires to Khúzistán, where he dies on Shawwál 14, A. H. 265.

#### (2) *‘Amr b. Layth.*

He succeeded his brother, and reigned 22 years over Khurásán, ‘Iráq, Fars, Kirmán, Sístán, Quhistán, Mázarán and Ghazna. (376) Ráfi<sup>c</sup> b. Harthama opposes him, but is killed. The Caliph al-Mu<sup>t</sup>amid incites Isma<sup>c</sup>íl-i-Sámání to attack him. Admirable discipline of Isma<sup>c</sup>íl's army. ‘Amr is taken prisoner by Isma<sup>c</sup>íl. Anecdote of how ‘Amr's supper is carried off by a dog (377), when that morning his cook had complained that 300 camels did not suffice to carry his kitchen utensils. Isma<sup>c</sup>íl refuses the treasures offered by ‘Amr. (378) The author moralizes on his degenerate days. ‘Amr is sent in chains to the Caliph al-Mu<sup>t</sup>adid (MS. -Muqtaḍid),

who imprisons him for two years, but on the accession of the new Caliph he is killed, or allowed to die of starvation.

(3) *Ṭáhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr.*

He succeeded his grandfather ʿAmr, reigned a little more than a year, and was then overcome by Ismaʿíl the Sámání. His grandson, Aḥmad, and his descendants continued to rule Sístán until A. H. 558, and even in the author's time the family still exercised authority there.

*Section 2. — The Sámání Dynasty (379).*

These were 9 in number, and ruled in Persia for 102 years, 6 months, and 20 days. Their ancestor Sámán was a descendant of Bahrá́m Chúbín, but was reduced to the humble position of a camel-driver. His ambition is stirred by two verses of poetry, and he becomes a highwayman. His son Asad enters the service of Ṭáhir Dhu'l-Yamínayn in the time of al-Ma'mún. His sons become governors, Núḥ of Samarqand, Aḥmad of Farghána, Yaḥyá of Ashnás, Ilyás of Herát. In A. H. 261 al-Muʿtamid grants the government of all these districts to (1) Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Asad b. Sámán. His brother Ismaʿíl was governor of Bukhárá. War between the two brothers. (380) Naṣr died in A. H. 299, and the supremacy of (2) Ismaʿíl is henceforth uncontested. Bukhárá is made the Sámání capital, and the Şaffárí domains are conferred on the Sámánís by the Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid. Anecdote illustrating the character of the Ṭáhirí, Şaffárí and Sámání dynasties. (381) Theory of recompense. Ismaʿíl reigned 7 years and 10 months, and died on Şafar 14, A. H. 295.

(3) *Aḥmad b. Ismaʿíl.*

His love for men of learning. He substitutes Arabic for Persian ("Darí") in his proclamations. He reigns 5 years and 4 months. He prays for death in preference to the disorder

of his Kingdom. The lions at his gate. He is murdered by his servants on the 3th of Jumáda ii, A. H. 300. One of his servants was Alptagín, afterwards famous.

(4) *Naşr b. Aḥmad.*

He puts to death his father's murderers. (382) His protracted sojourn at Herát. He is induced by Rúdakí's celebrated ballad to return to Bukhárá. His generous treatment of a scion of the Şaffárí House, whom he appoints to the government of Sístán, which his descendants still ruled in the author's time. Kirmán taken by Abú 'Alí Ilyás. He rules it for 37 years (383) when he is driven out by the people, and replaced by his son Ilísá'. Mákán b. Kákí attacks Khurásán, but is defeated and slain in A. H. 329 by Naşr's general Amír 'Alí. The celebrated despatch of Amír 'Alí's secretary (Iskáfí) on this victory. Naşr reigned 30 years and 3 months, and died on Ramaḍán 12, A. H. 330.

(5) *Núḥ b. Naşr "al-Ḥamíd"*.

He fights with and conquers his uncle Ibráhím b. Aḥmad. He reigned 12 years, 7 months and 7 days, and died on the 19th of Rabí' i, A. H. 343. Alptagín was commander-in-chief in his days (384).

(6) *'Abdu'l-Malik b. Núḥ.*

He reigned 7 years and 6 months, and was killed by a fall while playing polo in Shawwál, A. H. 350. Further increase in Alptagín's power.

(7) *Manşúr b. Núḥ "as-Sadíd"*.

Alptagín endeavours to place Manşúr's uncle on the throne. Failing in this, he ultimately makes his way with 3000 followers to Ghazna. Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Símjúr succeeds him as governor of Khurásán, and marches against him with 15,000 horsemen, but is defeated at Balkh. (385) Alptagín besieges

and takes Ghazna and kills its king. Manşúr sends against him another army of 30,000 horsemen, whom Alptagín, with 6000 men, defeats. Khalaf b. Aḥmad, the ruler of Sístán, goes on the pilgrimage, leaving Ṭáhir b. Ḥusayn as his viceroy. The latter refuses him entrance on his return, and Khalaf takes refuge with Manşúr, who lends him troops wherewith he retakes Sístán. He is again driven out by Ṭáhir b. Ḥusayn, who soon afterwards dies. He is succeeded by his son Ḥasan, who surrenders, and Khalaf is reinstated. Manşúr reigned 15 years, and died in Shawwál, A. H. 365. His *wazír* was Abú ‘Alí Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bal‘amí [MS.-Balkhí], who translated Ṭabarí’s chronicle into Persian.

(8) *Núḥ b. Manşúr.*

Contrary to the advice of Símjúrí, he gives the premiership to Abu’l-Ḥasan al-‘Utbí. (386) Hostility between al-‘Utbí and Símjúrí. Ḥusámu ‘d-Dawla Tásh is made commander-in-chief and Fá’iq chamberlain. Khalaf revolts in Sístán. Núḥ sends Ḥusayn b. Táhir against him. Khalaf holds out for 7 years, to the great hurt of the Sámání prestige. Abu’l-Ḥasan b. Símjúr is removed from the government of Khurásán (where he is replaced by Tásh) and despatched against Khalaf, with whom he comes to an understanding. He conspires with Fá’iq and murders Abu’l-Ḥasan al-‘Utbí. Disorders supervene in Khurásán. Tásh occupies Níshápúr, Fá’iq Balkh, and Abu’l-Ḥasan b. Símjúr Herát. Death of the latter, who is succeeded by his son Abú ‘Alí, on whom Núḥ confers the government of Khurásán. (387) War between Abú ‘Alí and Tásh. The latter takes refuge with Fakhru’d-Dawla the Buwayhid in Gurgán. Fakhru’d-Dawla makes him governor of Gurgán until his death in A. H. 379. War between Gurgán and Khurásán. Abú ‘Alí b. Símjúr becomes governor of Khurásán. Núḥ, being suspicious of him, gives the government of Herát to Fá’iq. War between Fá’iq and Abú ‘Alí Símjúr.

The former, defeated, flees to Bukhárá, whence he is driven back to Balkh by Begtúzún. Abú 'Alí b. Símjúr demands for himself from Núḥ the government of Khurásán, which he obtains. He renounces his allegiance to the Sámánís and takes refuge with Bughrá Khán the Turk, whom he incites to attack the Sámánís, stipulating that he shall himself be recognized as king of Khurásán. Bughrá Khán defeats and takes captive the Sámání general. Núḥ (388) propitiates Fá'iq and sends him against Bughrá Khán, with whom however, he was secretly in agreement, so that he fell back from Samarqand, followed by Bughrá Khán, who advanced on Bukhárá. Núḥ fled before him to Jurjániyya (Khwárazm), which was governed by Ma'mún b. Muḥammad-i-Faríghúní <sup>1)</sup> and Abú 'Abdi'lláh Khwárazm-Sháh. Fá'iq went out from Bukhárá to meet Bughrá Khán, who proclaimed himself king, and sent Fá'iq to Balkh, but afterwards fell sick and retired to Turkistán. Núḥ invited the help of Subuktigín and his son Maḥmúd of Ghazna against Fá'iq and Abú 'Alí b. Símjúr. The latter, suddenly deserted by Dára b. Qábús, the Ziyárid prince of Ṭabaristán, was routed, and with Fá'iq took refuge with Fakhru'd-Dawla of Daylam (389). Abú 'Alí meditates treachery, but is dissuaded by Fá'iq. Núḥ makes Subuktigín governor of Khurásán and gives him the title of Náṣiru'd-Dawla and his son Maḥmúd that of Sayfu'd-Dawla (A. H. 384). Subuktigín goes to Herát and Maḥmúd to Níshápúr. The latter is attacked and defeated by Abú 'Alí b. Símjúr and Fá'iq, but, reinforced by his father Subuktigín, attacks and defeats them, whereupon they flee to the Castle of Kalát (MS. Kaláb or Guláb). Fá'iq subsequently goes to 'Ilak Khán, brother of Bughrá Khán, while Abú 'Alí b. Símjúr goes to Ma'mún-i-Faríghúní <sup>1)</sup>. He is seized on the way by Abú 'Abdi'lláh

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1) This error of confusing the Ma'múnís of Khwárazm with the Faríghúnís of Júzján is also committed by the author of the *Jahán-ará*. See notes to *Chahár Maqála* (Gibb Series, Vol. xi), pp. 242—4.

Khwárazmsháh, but is released by Ma'mún, who kills Abú 'Abdi'lláh and sends Abú 'Alí b. Símjúr to Núh. Núh grants him an amnesty (390), but breaks his word and kills him. 'Ilak Khán marches on Bukhárá with Fá'iq, to whom Núh cedes the government of Samarqand, and dies soon afterwards on Rajab 13. A. H. 387.

(9) *Abu'l-Háarith Maṣṣúr b. Núh.*

He reigned for 1 year and 7 months. He appoints Fá'iq *amir* and Abu'l-Muṣaffar al-'Utbí *wazir*. 'Ilak Khán again advances on Bukhárá, takes it and appoints a governor, but the city is retaken by Maṣṣúr and Fá'iq. War between Begtúzún and Abu'l-Qásim b. Símjúr. The latter is defeated and flees to Fakhru 'd-Dawla in Gurgán, who, on his death, is succeeded by his son Majdu'd-Dawla Rustam. Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna attacks Begtúzún and takes Khurásán, but (391) retires in favour of Maṣṣúr. Maṣṣúr is blinded by Begtúzún and Fá'iq on Šafar 18, A. H. 389.

(10) *'Abdu'l-Malik* [MS. *'Amidu'l-Mulk*] *b. Núh.*

He succeeded his brother and reigned 8 months and 17 days. Maḥmúd of Ghazna, to avenge Abu'l-Háarith Maṣṣúr, marches on Begtúzún and Fá'iq, drives them into Transoxiana, and occupies Khurásán. Fá'iq and 'Ilak Khán return and drive out 'Abdu'l-Malik from Bukhárá. The Sámání power comes to an end on Dhu'l-Ḥijja 22, A. H. 389. Al-Muntašir Isma'íl b. Núh, brother of 'Abdu'l-Malik, escaped to Khwárazm, where he collected an army and defeated 'Ilak Khán's brother at Samarqand. (392) 'Ilak Khán in person marches against him, and he retreats to Níshápúr, where he is joined by Abu'l-Qásim b. Símjúr. They are attacked by Maḥmúd of Ghazna and his brother Našr. Al-Muntašir takes refuge with Qábús b. Washmgír, who offers him the kingdom of Ray. He is joined by Minúchihir and Dárá, sons of Qábús.

and goes to Níshápúr. He is finally defeated by Naşr b. Subuktigín, and seeks aid from the Ghuzz Turks, by whose help he defeats 'Ilak Khán and recaptures Bukhárá. He invokes and receives the help of Maḥmúd of Ghazna, who replaces him on the throne (393). He disbands his army, is taken off his guard by 'Ilak Khán, is defeated, flees westwards to Barda<sup>c</sup>, and is killed there by Arabs of the Banú Bahíj in Rabí' i, A. H. 395.

*Section 3. — The Ghaznawí Dynasty.*

These were 14 in number, and reigned in all for 150 years. Their founder, Subuktigín, was the slave of Alptigín, himself a slave of the Sámánís. Alptigín, not trusting Maṣṣúr b. Núḥ the Sámánid, fled from Khurásán to Ghazna, where he established himself, and ruled for 16 years. He conducted several campaigns against the Indians. On his death Subuktigín, who was married to his daughter, was elected *Amír*.

(1) *Subuktigín.*

In A. H. 367 he subdued several provinces, attacked India and took prisoner the Indian King Jáypál (MS. Haytál), but released him on his undertaking to pay tribute. In A. H. 384 Núḥ b. Maṣṣúr the Sámání conferred on him the government of Khurásán. In A. H. 387 he died and was succeeded by his son —

(2) *Isma'íl b. Subúktigín,*

Whose mother was Alptigín's daughter. He quarrels and fights with his elder brother.

(3) *Maḥmúd Sayfu'd-Dawla,*

Who overcomes him. Núshtigín, Isma'íl's servant (394) is put to death by Maḥmúd, who sends his brother Isma'íl into exile. Maḥmúd is refused the governorship of Khurásán in favour of Begtúzún. He takes Níshápúr. He is attacked by the Sámání prince Abu'l-Ḥáarith Maṣṣúr, to whom, from motives of loyalty, he offers no resistance. Later, when

Fá'iq and Begtúzún kill Abu'l-Háarith, who is succeeded by 'Abdu'l-Malik, Maḥmúd seizes Khurásán, and makes his elder brother Amír Naṣr governor of it. On the extinction of the Sámání dynasty in A. H. 390, Maḥmúd is recognized as King of Ghazna and Khurásán (395) by the Caliph al-Qádir bi'lláh, who confers on him the title of *Amínu'l-Milla*, which he afterwards supplements with that of *Yamínu'd-Dawla*. Maḥmúd, whose mother was the daughter of the Prince of Záwul (Zábulistán), fixes his capital at Balkh. His victories and achievements are well known, and are recorded in the *Kitáb-i-Yamíní* of al-'Utbi, the *Maqámát* of *Abú Naṣr* [Mushkán], and the writings of Abu'l-Faḍl ash-Shaybání <sup>1</sup>). His love of poets, on whom he spends a yearly sum of 400,000 *dínárs*. His minister consoles him for his personal ugliness. Discovery of a gold mine in Sístán. A mountain swallowed up in an earthquake. Campaign against Búshanj, In Muḥarram A. H. 392 (396) Maḥmúd again invades India. Jaypál, the Indian King, burns himself alive, having appointed his son to succeed him. Maḥmúd receives the title of *Ghází*, and afterwards of *Sultán*. He subdues Sístán. He again invades India and penetrates to Multán and Kashmír. He defeats Ílak Khán. (397) Further campaigns of Sultán Maḥmúd. He kills Súrí of the House of Ghúr. Súrí's son commits suicide. Destruction of idols. Conquest of Gharjistán. Capture of Márdín. (398) Death of Ílak Khán in A. H. 403. He is succeeded by his brother Tughán. Maḥmúd helps him in his wars with the unbelievers, and obtains the daughter of Ílak Khán in marriage for his son Mas'úd. He puts to death a Fáṭimí emissary from Egypt. His campaign against Qinnawj (A. H. 409). Abundant spoils taken. Revolt of Afghans during his absence. Maḥmúd wrests 'Iráq from the Buwayhids in A. H. 426, and confers it on his son Mas'úd. How Sultán Maḥmúd,

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1) Abu'l-Faḍl al-Bayhaqí the historian is certainly meant.

by a strategem, poisons a gang of Balúch robbers (400) who have plundered caravans going to India, and extirpates their kinsmen. He takes Khwárazm from the House of Ma'mún <sup>1</sup>). Disgrace and imprisonment of Abu'l-'Abbás Faḍl b. Aḥmad. (401) Shamsu'l-Kufát Abu'l-Qásim Aḥmad b. Ḥasan of Maymand appointed *wazīrs*. Sultán Maḥmúd sees the Prophet in a dream. He dies at the age of 61, after a reign of 31 years, in A. H. 421.

(4) *Naṣīru'd-Dawla Mas'úd b. Maḥmúd.*

By his father's will, 'Iràq, Khurásán and Khwárazm are given to him, and India and Ghazna to his brother Muḥammad. Two years later he takes Kirmán from the Buwayhids. War between the two brothers. Muḥammad is defeated, taken captive and blinded. Mas'úd is defeated by the Seljúqs (402) and killed in A. H. 433 after a reign of 10 years. After this the authority of the Ghaznawís was confined to Ghazna.

(5) *'Imádu'd-Dawla Muḥammad b. Maḥmúd.*

He ruled for 4 years in Ghazna during the life of his brother, was then imprisoned by his brother for 9 years, and reigned for one year more after his brother Mas'úd's death. He was killed by his nephew in A. H. 434.

(6) *Shihábu'd-Dawla Mawdúd b. Mas'úd.*

He killed his uncle Muḥammad, and all his children, and all who had conspired against Mas'úd, and married the daughter of the Seljúq Chaghri Beg, who bore him a son named Mas'úd. He reigned 7 years, and died in Rajab, A. H. 441.

(7) *Mas'úd b. Mawdúd.*

He succeeded his father, being but a child, and after reigning one month was deposed by the nobles.

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<sup>1</sup>) The MS. adds "Farighúní". See p. 76 *supra*, *ad calc.*

(8) *Bahá'u'd-Dawla 'Alí b. Mas'úd.*

(403) He succeeded his nephew, married the widow of Mawdúd, the daughter of Chaghri Beg, and reigned for 2 years, but was defeated in A. H. 443 by his uncle.

(9) *Majdu'd-Dawla Abú Manşúr 'Abdu'r-Rashíd b. Maḥmúd.*

He succeeded his nephew and reigned for one year, when he was defeated by the daughter of Chaghri Beg. Ṭughril "the Ingrate" finally kills him. Nine princes, grandsons of Maḥmúd, were surviving at this time, *viz.* Ḥasan, Naşr, 'Irán-sháh, Khálid, 'Abdu'r-Raḥím, Manşúr, Humám, 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán and Isma'íl, all imprisoned in the Castle of Dihak. They escaped, but were betrayed by Núshtigín to Ṭughril, who killed them all. Three other princes of the House of Ghazna survived them, *viz.* Farrukh-zád, Ibráhím and Shujá', who were also imprisoned. Ṭughril was preparing to kill them also (404), when he was himself killed by Núshtigín.

(10) *Ĵamálu'd-Dawla Farrukh-zád b. Mas'úd*<sup>1)</sup>.

He gave decent burial to the princes slain by Ṭughril "the Ingrate", and by him cast into pits and ditches. He reigned for six years, and died in A. H. 450<sup>2)</sup>, having nominated his cousin to succeed him.

(11) *Ĵahíru'd-Dawla Ibráhím b. Mas'úd.*

He reigned long and well, and was called "father" by the Seljúqs. He built many mosques, monasteries, bridges, etc. and died on Shawwál 5, A. H. 492, after a reign of 42 years.

(12) *'Imádu'd-Dawla Mas'úd b. Ibráhím.*

He married the sister of Sanjar the Seljúq, reigned 16 years, and died in A. H. 508.

1) MS. "b. 'Abdu'r-Rashíd", but this is an error.

2) A. H. 451 according to Bayhaqí, Ibnu'l-Athír, etc.

(13) *Kamálu'd-Dawla Shirzád b. Mas'úd.*

He reigned for one year (405), when his brother Arslánsháh revolted against him and killed him in A. H. 509.

(14) *Sulṭánu'd-Dawla Arslánsháh b. Mas'úd.*

His accession is contested by his brother Bahrámsháh, who is helped by his uncle Sanjar the Seljúq. He abandons Ghazna, and flees to Laháwar (Lahore), but returns again to fight his brother, by whom he is captured and put to death in A. H. 512, after a reign of 3 years.

(15) *Yamínu'd-Dawla Bahrámsháh b. Mas'úd.*

He was a great patron of learning. The Imám Naṣru'lláh b. 'Abdu'l-Hamíd translated the *Book of Kalíla and Dimna* from Arabic into Persian for him. He reigned for 32 <sup>1)</sup> years, when 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn b. Ḥusayn of Ghúr drove him into India, and bestowed his capital, Ghazna, on his brother, Sayfu'd-Dín. (406). Bahrámsháh returns and defeats Sayfu'd-Dín, whom he parades through Ghazna mounted on a cow. 'Alá'u'Dín, hearing this, marches against him, but, ere he reaches him, Bahrámsháh dies in A. H. 544 <sup>1)</sup>.

(16) *Zahíru'd-Dawla Khusrawsháh b. Bahrámsháh.*

He flees to India from 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥasan, who again takes Ghazna and gives it to his nephew Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Abu'l-Fath [Muḥammad b.] Sám. Khusrawsháh is induced to surrender himself to 'Alá'u'd-Dín, and is interned in a castle for 10 years, where he dies in A. H. 555 <sup>2)</sup>. With his death the House of Ghazna came to an end.

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1) The *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* says that he reigned 41 years, and died in A. H. 552 at Ghazna, after three wars with 'Alá'u'd-Dawla and a retreat to India. See notes to *Chahár Maqála* (Vol. xi of this Series), pp. 156—159.

2) A. H. 559 according to the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*.

*Section 4. — The Ghūrī Dynasty.*

These were five in number, and reigned from A. H. 545 until A. H. 609, 64 years in all. Their ancestor was Sūr<sup>1</sup> King of Ghūr, who once defeated Sultān Maḥmūd. His grandson fled to India, where a son was born to him (407) named Sām, who became a Muslim and went to Dihlī, where he became a rich merchant. To him was born a son named Ḥusayn, who suffered shipwreck in one of his voyages, and, being cast ashore, almost the sole survivor of the crew, was imprisoned for seven years, when a general amnesty to prisoners enabled him to make his escape. He fled to Ghazna and joined a band of robbers, who were finally captured by Sultān Ibrāhīm, who put them all to death with the exception of Ḥusayn, whose he spared. (408) He becomes Sultān Ibrāhīm's chamberlain, and afterwards, under Sultān Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm, governor of Ghūr.

(1) *'Alā'u'd-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Ḥusayn.*

As the power of the House of Ghazna declines, he establishes himself in their place, and makes his nephew, Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, governor of Ghazna, taking Herāt as his own capital. There he died in A. H. 551<sup>1)</sup>, after a reign of six years.

(2) *Sayfu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Ḥusayn.*

Sanjar the Seljūq took Balkh and gave it to Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd b. Ḥusayn. In the war which ensued, Sayfu'd-Dīn was killed in A. H. 558, after a reign of 7 years<sup>2)</sup>.

(3) *Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Sām b. Ḥusayn.*

He succeeded his cousin, and fought a fierce fight with the Ghuzz (409), whom he subdued and compelled to pay

1) A. H. 556, according to Ibnu'l-Athīr and the *Ḥāshā'ir*.

2) Rather more than a year, according to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*.

tribute, and set his cousin Maḥmúd b. Mas'úd <sup>1)</sup> over them as governor. To this Maḥmud he gave his sister in marriage, and to them was born a son named Bahá'u'd-Dín Sám. He made his brother Shihábu'd-Dín governor of Herát, and chose Ghazna as his own capital. Shihábu'd-Dín's successful campaign against the Indians. Death of Tukush Khán at Khwárazm. The Ghúris take Merv. Ghiyáthu'd-Dín and his brother besiege Níshápúr, which is defended by Tukush's son 'Alísháh, and take it. (410) After sundry vicissitudes, Khurásán falls into the hands of the Ghúris. Death of Ghiyáthu'd-Dín in A. H. 598 after a reign of 40 years.

(4) *Shihábu'd-Dín Abu'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. Sám  
b. Husayn.*

He mourns for his brother. Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh (411) marches on Merv, retakes Khurásán, allies himself with the Gúr Khán of Qará-Khitá'í and the King of Samarqand, and routs the armies of Ghúr. Verses on this event by Firdaws, the lady-minstrel of Samarqand. The Qará-Khitá'í army besieges Shihábu'd-Dín in Ṭálaqán, but he buys his safety and retreats in disorder to Ghazna, where his slave Ṭdigiz refuses to admit him, so he passes on to Múltán in Sind, where his slave Aybak was governor. (412) Having fought and killed Aybak, who refused to admit him, he collects fresh troops and returns to Ghazna, which submits. He makes peace with Khwárazmsháh, to whom he cedes Merv and Níshápúr, retaining Balkh and Herát. In A. H. 602 he undertook a fresh campaign against India, but was finally assassinated by some Hindús after a reign of 4 years.

(5) *Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad b. Sám b. Husayn.*

For a while Bahá'u'd-Dín Sám b. Muḥammad was his

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1) From the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* it would appear that this Maḥmúd was really the son of Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad.

rival, but he died suddenly. Maḥmúd gave the government of Bámiyán to the sons of Bahá'u'd-Dín Sám, 'Alá'u'd-Dín and Jalálu'd-Dín. Owing to Maḥmúd's weakness, his provinces were seized by his governors. Quṭbu'd-Dín Aybak took his Indian possessions and made Dihli his capital (413), where he was in turn succeeded by his slave Shamsu'd-Dín, who assumed the title of Sulṭán, and whose sons succeeded him until they were overthrown by Sulṭán Jalálu'd-Dín Khalaj. So likewise Táju'd-Dín Ildigiz took Ghazna and Zábulistán, and Qubácha Multán, Lahore, and other Indian provinces, while Sulṭán Maḥmúd retained only Herát and Fírúzkúh. Sulṭán Maḥmúd reigned 7 years, and in A. H. 609 was one day found dead in his house. The murderer was not found, but 'Alísháh b. Tukush Khún was suspected of instigating the murder. Thus the line of the House of Ghúr came to an end, and their possessions passed into the hands of Khwárazmsháh. The kings of Kart, who still ruled in Herát in the author's time, were descended from the Ghúrids.

*Section 5. — The House of Daylam or Buwayh.*

These were 17 in number, and reigned for 127 years, from Dhu'l-Qa'ḍa A. H. 321 until A. H. 448. According to their historian aṣ-Ṣábi, their ancestor, Buwayh or Búya (414) was descended from Bahrám Gúr (genealogy given), and was born and dwelt in a village Kiyákilsh in Daylamán near Qazwín. He entered the service of Mákán b. Kákí. He had three sons named 'Alí, Aḥmad and Ḥasan. Asfár b. Shírúya, Mardáwíj and Washmgír were also in attendance on Mákán. In A. H. 315 Asfár revolted against Mákán, but a year later was assassinated by the Carmathians, and was succeeded by Mardáwíj b. Ziyár, who took possession of Rúdbár, Ṭálaqán and Rustamdár, and later of Mázandarán, Ray, Qazwín, Abhar, Zanján and Ṭárimayn. He also took and sacked Hamadán, and made a great massacre there, and defeated

Mákán, whom he drove back into Khurasán. Mardáwīj then appointed 'Alí b. Búya and his brothers to occupy Karaj, and himself marched on Iṣfahán, whence he drove out the governor of the Caliph al-Muqtadir, Muẓaffar b. Yáqút, who fled to Fárs to his father. (415) Meanwhile 'Alí b. Buwayh and his brothers were in Arraján, and they with 300 men fell in with Yáqút with 2000 men at Kurkán. Reinforced by another 300 Lurs, the Buwayhids defeated Yáqút and marched on Fárs, which they subdued. At this juncture Mardáwīj was murdered by his servants while he was in the bath, and his body was sent from Iṣfahán to Ray and there buried in A. H. 321. 'Alí b. Buwayh then occupied Iṣfahan, having defeated Washmgír b. Ziyár, whom he drove back into Ṭabaristán. Thus 'Alí b. Buwayh became supreme in 'Iráq and Fárs on Dhu'l-Qa'da 11, A. H. 321, and took the title of —

(1) *'Imáda'd-Dawla.*

He gave 'Iráq to his brother Ḥasan, together with the title of Ruknu 'd-Dawla, while on his youngest brother, Aḥmad, he conferred the government of Kirmán, making Shíráz his own capital. A snake guides him to (416) a hidden treasure. Anecdote of the deaf tailor. Hundred days' war with Caliph's troops. 'Imádu'd-Dawla's dream and victory. He obtains the government of Fárs from the Caliph on a guarantee of remitting 800,000 *dinárs* (417) a year. He reigned 16 years and a half and died in Jumáda i, A. H. 338, leaving to succeed him his brother —

(2) *Ruknu'd-Dawla Ḥasan b. Buwayh.*

His wars with the son of Qará-tigín, the Sámání general. He ruled 'Iráq for 44 years, 16½ in the time of his brother 'Imádu 'd-Dawla, and 27½ in the time of his son 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla. He died in Muḥarram, A. H. 366, leaving 'Iráq to his little

sons, and Yazd, Iṣfahán, Qum, Káshán, Naṭanz and Jurbá-dhaqán to Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla Abú Naṣr; Ray, Hamadán, Qazwín, Abhar, Zanján, Sáwa, Áwa and part of Kurdistán to Fakhru'd-Dawla 'Alí; and Fárs to his eldest son 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla Fannákhusrāw. His *wazīr*, Ibnu'l-'Amíd Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn, was one of the most talented men of his time. (418) Verses in his praise. His own compositions.

(3) *Mu'izzu'd-Dawla Aḥmad b. Buwayh.*

He is sent to subdue Kirmán, but is put to shame by the generosity of Abú 'Alí Ilyás. On the death of Abú 'Alí and the accession of his son Alyasa<sup>c</sup> he again attacks and annexes Kirmán and Mukrán. His wars with the Balúches, in which he loses his left hand. He subdues Khúzistán, Baṣra and Wásit. In A. H. 334 he paid a visit to the Caliph al-Mustakfí, and was made *Amíru'l-Umará*, and practically ruled Baghdad for 21 years, for 3 years of which he was contemporary with 'Imádu'd-Dawla, and for 18 years with Ruknu'd-Dawla. He died in A. H. 356 at the age of 54 years (419).

(4) *'Aḍudu'd-Dawla Abú Shujá<sup>c</sup> Fannákhusrāw b. Ruknu'd-Dawla.*

He succeeded his uncle in Fárs in A. H. 338, and reigned 34 years. He was the best of all the Buwayhids. In A. H. 356 Washmgír b. Ziyár died in Ṭabaristán, and was succeeded by his son Bihistún. On the death of his father Ruknu'd-Dawla 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla proceeded to Baghdad in A. H. 367, and fought with his cousin 'Izzu'd-Dawla Bakhtiyár and killed him. The Caliph receives him with unprecedented honour, and added to his other titles that of Táju'l-Millat. In the same year Bihistún b. Washmgír died, and was succeeded by his brother Qábús. (420) War between 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla and Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla on the one hand, and Fakhru'd-Dawla on the other. The latter flees to Qábús in Ṭabaristán.

Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla defeats Fakhru'd-Dawla and Qábús, and takes Ṭabaristán and Gurgán. The fugitives go to Khurásán and seek help from Núḥ b. Manşúr the Sámání, who sends Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Tásh and Fá'iq to help them. Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla's wise *wazír*, the Şáḥib Isma'íl b. 'Abbád, detaches Fá'iq from his allies and defeats them. (421) The Sámánid ruler sends his *wazír* Shaykh Abu'l-Ḥasan al-'Utbí to help the allies, but he is killed on the way. Fakhru'd-Dawla remains 3 years and Qábús 18 years in Khurásán. Amongst the monuments left by 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla are the Band-i-Amír in Fárs, the shrines of 'Alí and Ḥusayn, the hospital of Baghdad, the wall of al-Madína, the town of Súqu'l-Amír south of Shíráz, and the palace in Baghdad called Saráy-i-Sultán. (422) 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla reproved by a madman. He died at Baghdad in A. H. 372, and was buried at Mashhad-i-'Alí [*i. e.* Najaf].

(5) *'Izzu'd-Dawla Bakhtiyár b. Mu'izzu'd-Dawla.*

His position at Baghdad, and vicissitudes. (423) He is attacked by 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla and killed in Shawwál, A. H. 367. The *wazír* Ibnu'l-'Amíd <sup>1)</sup> is also put to death.

(6) *Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla b. Ruknu'd-Dawla.*

He was governor of 'Iráq in the time of 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla, to which, on the defeat of Fakhru'd-Dawla and Qábús, he added Gurgán and Ṭabaristán. He ruled over these for 6 years in the time of 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla, and one year after his death. On the death of Abu'l-Fatḥ Ibnu'l-'Amíd he made the Şáḥib Isma'íl b. 'Abbád his *wazír* in A. H. 367. Learning and industry of the Şáḥib. Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla died in A. H. 373. Verses on the Şáḥib by Abú Sa'íd ar-Rustamí of Sijistán.

(7) *Fakhru'd-Dawla b. Ruknu'd-Dawla.*

He succeeded to the throne in A. H. 373. (424) He

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1) This is an error for Muḥammad b. Baqiyya.

retained the Šāhib Ismaʿīl b. ʿAbbād as his minister. In A. H. 379 war broke out between him and his nephew Bahá'u'd-Dawla. Fakhru'd-Dawla occupied Khúzistán and was marching on Bašra when Bahá'u'd-Dawla flooded the plain and prevented him. He returned to Hamadán, and peace was made. Fakhru'd-Dawla is recognized as Amíru'l-Umará. He builds a mosque in Baghdad, which was restored in the author's time by Khwāja Saʿdu'd-Dín Muḥammad Sávají, the Minister of Gházán Khán the Mongol. In A. H. 385 the Šāhib Ismaʿīl b. ʿAbbād falls ill. His dying advice to Fakhru'd-Dawla. (425). His death after serving 18 years as *wazír*. His burial at Iṣfahán. Fakhru'd-Dawla's neglect of his injunctions and harshness towards his clients and family. He sells the premiership for 10,000 *dínárs* to Abu'l-ʿAbbás aḍ-Ḍabbí and Abú ʿAlí b. Jamúla of Iṣfahán. Their exactions and oppressions. The Qāḍí ʿAbdu'l-Jabbár was fined a million *dirhams* by them and dismissed from his judge-ship. This ʿAbdu'l-Jabbár was a Muʿtazilí. Beliefs of this sect. Corruption of judges and divines worse than corruption of courtiers. (426) Death of Fakhru'd-Dawla in A. H. 387. His son Majdu'd-Dawla Rustam was only eleven years of age, so his widow Sayyida became regent. Her autocratic rule. Inscription designed by Fakhru'd-Dawla for his tomb. Catalogue of the moneys and other possessions he left behind him. (427).

(8) *Majdu'd-Dawla Abú Ṭálib Rustam b. Fakhru'd-Dawla.*

In A. H. 388 Qábús b. Washmgír returned from Khurásán and recaptured Gurgán and Ṭabaristán. After protracted fighting he makes peace with Majdu'd-Dawla on condition that these two provinces and Mázarandarán shall be ceded to him. Qábús subsequently takes Gílán, and gives it to his son Minúchihr. Qábús reigned 15 years after his return. Then his army mutinied, made his son Minúchihr king, and put him in prison, where he shortly afterwards died. Minú-

chilr makes peace with Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna (who gives him his daughter in marriage), and recognizes him as his overlord and suzerain. He puts to death his father's murderers. Majdu'd-Dawla, having reached years of discretion, desires to recover the powers assumed by his mother. She flees to Badr b. Ḥasanawayh the Amír (428) of Kurdistán. He helps her to defeat Majdu'd-Dawla, captures Ray, takes prisoner Majdu'd-Dawla and his *wazír* Abú 'Alí, and restores Sayyida, who richly rewards him and sends him back to Kurdistán. Her wise and firm rule. The wise answer by which she turns aside Sultán Maḥmúd's hostile purpose. (429) Reconciliation between her and her son, who assumes the sovereignty. He gives his brother Shamsu'd-Dawla the government of Hamadán. On Sayyida's death disorder ensues. Majdu'd-Dawla invokes Sultán Maḥmúd's help to restore order. Sultán Maḥmúd kills him and his son in A. H. 420, after he had reigned 33 years, and takes possession of 'Iráq.

(9) *Sharafu'd-Dawla Abú'l-Fawáris-Shirzíl b. 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla.*

He became king of Kirmán on his father's death in A. H. 372, while his brother Şamşámu'd-Dawla became Amíru'l-Umará at Baghdad. Four years and a half later, Sharafu'd-Dawla went to Baghdad, captured, blinded and imprisoned Şamşámu'd-Dawla, and became king in his place. Sharafu'd-Dawla lived two years longer and died in Jumáda ii, A. H. 379.

(10) *Şamşámu'd-Dawla Abú Kálanjár (430) Marzubán b. 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla.*

On the death of Sharafu'd-Dawla, Şamşámu'd-Dawla was brought forth from his prison and proclaimed king, but his claims were disputed by his nephew Shamsu'd-Dawla 'Alí b. Sharafu'd-Dawla, and his brother Bahá'u'd-Dawla b. 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla. In the wars which ensued Ahwáz and Baṣra were destroyed. At length Şamşámu'd-Dawla fled, and eight years

later was killed in Fárs by the sons of 'Izzu'd-Dawla Bakhtiyár and Núru'd-Dawla Sálár, in A. H. 388.

(11) *Bahá'u'd-Dawla Abú Naşr Sháhinsháh* <sup>1)</sup> *b. 'Ađudu 'd-Dawla.*

He became king in Şafar, A. H. 380, on the death of Sharafu'd-Dawla, and reigned 24 years and 3 months. The Caliph al-Qádir bi'lláh gave him the title of Shahinsháh Qiwámu'd-Dín <sup>2)</sup>. He made peace with Sulţán Maĥmúd of Ghazna, and demanded his daughter in marriage, and died at Arraján in Fárs in Rabí' i, A. H. 404 [*Ibnu'l-Athír*, 403].

(12) *Sulţánu'd-Dawla Abú Shujá' b. Bahá'u'd-Dawla.*

On his father's death he became king of Fárs and Kirmán. He received the title of Ghiyáthu'd-Dawla. He reigned 12 years and 4 months. His brother Qiwámu'd-Dawla Abu'l-Fawáris, who was governor of Kirmán, revolted against him, was defeated (431), and fled to Sulţán Maĥmúd, who sent Abú Sa'íd at-Ťá'í to help him. Aided by troops from Baghdad, Sulţánu'd-Dawla again drove him out of Kirmán, and he fled to Hamadán to Shamsu'd-Dawla b. Fakhru'd-Dawla. Sulţánu'd-Dawla died in Fárs in A. H. 416 [*I. A.*, 415].

(13) *Musharriffu'd-Dawla Abú 'Alí Hasan b. Bahá'u'd-Dawla.*

He was Amíru'l-Umará at Baghdad for 6 years and 2 months, and died in A. H. 416.

(14) *Şalálu'd-Dawla b. Bahá'u'd-Dawla b. 'Ađudu'd-Dawla.*

He was first governor of Başra on behalf of his brother, and afterwards held the position of Amíru'l-Umará for 25 years. In his time began the predominance of the Turks at

1) In other histories his name is given as Fírúz.

2) According to Ibn Taghrí-bardí's *Kitábu'l-Inshá* (Arabe 4439, Paris, f. 158) he was entitled Nizámu'd-Dín, and was the first person to receive a title compounded with -Dín instead of -Dawla.

Baghdad, and his power was little more than nominal. He was a friend of scholars and a fine calligraphist. He died in A. H. 435. His son Abú Maṣṣūr al-Maliku'l-ʿAzíz was governor of Wásit, but on his father's death he fled to Diyár Bakr and there died in destitution.

(432) (15) *Al-ʿImád li-Dini'lláh ʿIzzu'l-Mulúk Abú Kálanjár Marzubán b. Sulṭánu'd-Dawla b. Bahá'u'd-Dawla.*

He succeeded his father as ruler of Fárs in A. H. 416. His uncle Jalálu'd-Dawla was Amíru'l-Umará at Baghdad, and there was war between them for 14 years, after which they made peace, and on his uncle's death Baghdad also came under his control, but the Turks paid no attention to him. He consequently went to Shíráz and left his son al-Maliku'r-Raḥím to represent him at Baghdad. He reigned in all 24 years, for five of which he resided at Baghdad. Ismaʿíl of Shabánkára revolted against him, and Ṭughril Beg the Seljúq prepared to attack him, but the mediation of the Qádí Abú Muḥammad an-Náṣihí <sup>1)</sup>, author of the manual of Ḥanafite law entitled *al-Masʿúdí*, secured a peaceful solution, which was ratified by the marriage of Ṭughril Beg's daughter to Abú Kálanjár, who died in A. H. 440. ʿIráq had by this time passed into the control of the Seljúqs.

(16) *Al-Maliku'r-Raḥím Abú Naṣr b. Abú Kálanjár.*

He ruled in Baghdad as Amíru'l-Umará for 7 years. In (433) A. H. 447 Ṭughril the Seljúq marched on Baghdad, seized him, and imprisoned him in the Castle of Ṭabarak near Ray until his death.

(17) *Abú Maṣṣūr b. Abú Kálanjár.*

He reigned for 8 years in Fárs. Faḍlawayh of Shabánkára rebelled against him, took him prisoner in A. H. 448, and

<sup>1)</sup> See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arabisch. Litt.*, Vol. i, p. 373.

imprisoned him in a fortress where he died. Fárs was held for a time by Faḍlawayh, and then passed into the possession of the Seljúqs. Malik Abú ‘Alí b. Abú Kálanjár survived his brother nearly 40 years, and held Nawbanján in Fárs and Kirmánsháhán in fief. He was treated with honour by the Seljúqs, and died in the days of Barkiyáruq b. Maliksháh in A. H. 487, and with him the Buwayhid dynasty came to an end.

*Section 6. — The Seljúqs.*

Of these there were 3 branches, *viz.*

(1) The “Great Seljúqs”, who ruled over the whole or the greater part of Persia. They were 14 in number, and reigned 161 years, from A. H. 429 until Rabí‘ i, A. H. 590.

(2) The Seljúqs of Kirmán, who were 11 in number, and reigned 150 years, from A. H. 433 until A. H. 583.

(3) The Seljúqs of Rúm (Asia Minor), who were 11 in number, and reigned (434) 220 years, from A. H. 480 until A. H. 700.

Eminence and virtue of the Seljúqs, who were free from the faults and defects by some of which nearly all other dynasties were characterized. Their orthodoxy, beneficence and care of their people. Hence they were not afflicted by rebellious vassals like most previous dynasties.

*(1) The Great Seljúqs.*

Abu’l-‘Alá al-Aḥwal in his history traces Seljúq’s descent through 34 generations from Afrásiyáb. Seljúq had 4 sons, Isrá’íl, Míká’íl, Músá and Yúnus, who possessed spacious pastures in Turkistán. In A. H. 375 they moved into Transoxiana, and settled near Bukhárá and Sughd and Samarqand. Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna (435) cultivated friendly relations with them, but, being alarmed by the boasts of Isrá’íl as to the number of men whom he could summon to his standard,

treacherously seized him and imprisoned him in the castle of Kálanjar, where he died 7 years later. Isrá'il's brothers wished to cross the Oxus, but Arslán Hájib advised Sultán Maḥmúd not to permit this. However permission was granted them, and they settled near Nasá and Báward (Abíward) in Khurásán. Míká'il had 2 sons, Chaghrí Beg and Ṭughril Beg, who were at the head of these settlers. They won the esteem and confidence of the people of Khurásán. Sultán Mas'úd of Ghazna on his accession attacked them, but was defeated. (436) Troubles in India prevented him from returning to the attack, and the governor (*Sít-báshi*) of Khurásán, whom he commanded to attack them, was immediately and completely routed.

(1) *Ṭughril Beg b. Míká'il b. Seljúq.*

He was crowned at Níshápúr in A. H. 429, and appointed his half-brother Ibráhim b. Inál governor of that city, where he exercised great tyranny. The remonstrances of the inhabitants cause him to amend his evil ways. In A. H. 432 <sup>1)</sup> Sultán Mas'úd of Ghazna gave battle to the Seljúqs at Dandánaqán near Merv, but was defeated and fled to Ghazna, where he put aside all further ambition and took to drink. (437) The Seljúqs divide their empire as follows. To Chaghrí Beg, the elder brother, was assigned Khurásán, and he made Merv his capital. Músá Payghú Kalán received Ghazna, Herát and India. To Qáwurd the son of Chaghrí Beg were given Ṭabas and Kirmán, Ṭughril Beg himself took 'Iráq-i-'Ajam and such further lands to the west as should subsequently be conquered, and made Ray his capital. There he found the treasures of 'Alí Káma of Daylam and Majdu'd-Dawla Rustam, which he distributed amongst his soldiers, and then set out to conquer 'Iráq, Ádharbáyján, Kurdistán,

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1) Abu'l-Faḍl Bayhaqí, who himself took part in the battle and flight, gives the date in his history (ed. Ṭihrán, pp. 622—8) as Ramaḍán, A. H. 431.

Fárs, etc. The Caliph wished him to come to Baghdad, but this he was not able to do until 18 years after his accession, in A. H. 447. His name was inserted in the *khutba* and on the inscriptions of the coins, and he received the titles of Sultānu'd-Dawla and Yamínu Amíri'l-Mú'mínín. The name of the Buwayhid al-Maliku'r-Raḥím was added after his. In the year above mentioned he finally crushed the Buwayhids and performed the pilgrimage before entering Baghdád. (438) The revolt of al-Basásírí. Ṭughril makes 'Amídu'l-Mulk Abú Naṣr Kundurí his *wazír*, and demands the Caliph's daughter in marriage. The Caliph, though unwilling to grant this, is compelled to accede to this request. Chaghri Beg died in Khurásán in A. H. 453, and was succeeded by his son Alp Arslán. Ṭughril died on his way to Ray, where he intended to consummate his marriage with the Caliph's daughter Sayyida (439), on Ramaḍán 8. A. H. 455, and Sayyida returned with her dowry to Baghdad. Ṭughril was 70 years old at the time of his death, and had reigned 26 years.

(2) *Alp Arslán b. Chaghri Beg.*

Alp Arslán's brother Sulaymán was nominated as Ṭughril's successor, but Ṭughril Beg's cousin Qutulmish defeated and dispossessed him. Qutulmish was in turn defeated and slain by 'Alp Arslán, who, on his accession received from the Caliph al-Qá'im the titles of Sultán 'Aḍudu'd-Dín <sup>1)</sup> and Burhānu Amíri'l-Mú'mínín. He put to death 'Amídu'l-Mulk Abú Naṣr-i-Kundurí, and made Abú 'Alí al-Ḥasan b. Ishāq of Tús, better known as Nizāmu'l-Mulk, his minister. Al-Kundurí's dying message to the king and his minister. Account of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ. (440) His enmity towards the Nizāmu'l-Mulk. His attempt to displace him from the Sultan's favour, and its failure. (441) Ḥasan flees from court

1) 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla, according to Ibn Khallikán.

and becomes a "heretic" (Isma'ílí). New fashion of keeping state accounts inaugurated in consequence of Hasan's disaster. Alp Arslan's campaign against Georgia, which submits and gives hostages. Armenia submits to him, and the king of that country gives his daughter in marriage to Alp Arslán, who afterwards divorces her, and gives her in marriage to the Nizámu'l-Mulk, to whom she bore sons. Armánús, Emperor of the Byzantines, attacks Persia, but is utterly defeated at Malázgird, taken prisoner, and forced to give tribute. (442) Alp Arslán sends his brother Qáwurd to attack Faḍlawayhi the Shabánkára in Fárs. He himself marched against the Khán of Transoxiana, but was stabbed by his captive, Yúsuf-i-Kútwál, in Rabí' i, A. H. 465, after he had ruled over Khurásán as his father's representative for 2½ years, and over the whole of Persia for 9½ years (443).

(3) *Maliksháh b. Alp Arslán.*

Though he had several elder brothers, the Nizámu'l-Mulk secured his succession. He was attacked by his uncle Qáwurd, whom he defeated and took captive at Karaj, and who was subsequently poisoned on account of a threatened mutiny of the troops. (444) In A. H. 467 <sup>1)</sup> his brother Tukush rebelled against him, but was taken prisoner and blinded. Antioch taken from the Franks. Samarqand besieged and taken in A. H. 471 (?). The ferry-men of the Oxus are paid with drafts on Antioch, to teach them the extent of Maliksháh's empire. He marries Turkán Khátún the daughter of Tamgháj Khán b. Bughrá Khán. A son was born to him on Rajab 25, A. H. 479 at Sinjár, whom he names Sinjar or Sanjar. Maliksháh makes the pilgrimage in A. H. 481 (?). He discharges a blood-debt to Jámi' the *farrásh* at Baghdad. He confers benefits on the pilgrims. He twice inspects his

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1) The date was really A. H. 477, according to Ibnu'l-Athîr and 'Imádud-Dín al-Kátib.

empire, from Antioch and Latakia in the west to Transoxiana, Khutan and Cathay in the east. (445), and from the Caspian is the north to Yaman and Ṭá'if in the south. He is again involved in war with the Byzantines, and is taken captive by these, but is unrecognized, escapes, and afterwards takes captive their Emperor, whom he treats with magnanimity. (446) He conferred the government of his western possessions on Dá'úd b. Sulaymán b. Qutulmish, in whose family it remained until the time of Gházán Khán; the government of Kirmán on Sulṭánsháh b. Qáwurd, in whose family it remained for more than a century; and the government of Syria on another brother. The siege of Tyre. He makes Núshtigín (the ancestor of the Khwárazmsháhs) governor of Khwárazm. Other governors appointed (447). Maliksháh's love of the chase. He builds pyramids of the hoofs of the animals which he slew. He nominates his son Barkiyáruq to succeed him, by the advice of the Nizámu'l-Mulk. Turkán Khátún wished him to nominate her son Maḥmúd, and is consequently furious with the Nizámu'l-Mulk, and poisons the mind of Maliksháh against him and his 12 sons, who all hold important governments. (448). Maliksháh dismisses the Nizámu'l-Mulk, and replaces him by Táju'l-Mulk <sup>1)</sup> Abu'l-Ghaná'im. Other changes in the ministry, and consequent impairment of the government. Verses on this subject. Assassination of the Nizámu'l-Mulk at Saḥna <sup>2)</sup> by a *fidá'i* on 12 Ramaḍán, A. H. 485. Verses sent by Nizámu'l-Mulk to the Sulṭán. Death of Maliksháh in the following month. (449) Verses by Mu'izzí on this double calamity. Maliksháh was 38 years old when he died, and had reigned 20 years. His titles. He chose Iṣfahán as his capital, and was buried there. His wealth and state. After his death Turkán Khátún desired to put his son Maḥmúd on the throne, but the

1) MS. Táju'd-Dín, *male*.

2) MS. Mihna, *male*.

Caliph al-Muqtadí would not at first permit it, though he was finally compelled to yield.

(4) *Barkiyáruq b. Maliksháh.*

He was at Işfahán at the time of his father's death. Turkán Khátún's troops drive him thence (450) to Ray, where he is crowned. He defeats them at Burújird at the end of Dhu'l-Hijja, A. H. 485. He is bribed by Turkán Khátún not to press his advantage. She, by a promise of marriage, induces his maternal uncle, Quṭbu'd-Dawla Isma'íl b. Yáqútí, to attack him, but Isma'íl is defeated by him at Karaj, taken captive and put to death in A. H. 486. In the following year Tutush <sup>1)</sup>, Barkiyáruq's uncle, who had been blinded by Maliksháh, revolted. Barkiyáruq, unable to oppose him, and hearing that Turkán Khátún had died (in Ramaḍán of this year) at Isfahán, marched thither, and was ostensibly reconciled with his brother Maḥmúd. Some of Maḥmúd's *amírs*, however, seized Barkiyáruq and wished to blind him, but at this juncture Maḥmúd was attacked by small-pox, and died on the third day, and Barkiyáruq was declared king. He made the Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk, son of the Nizámu'l-Mulk, his minister, and received from the Caliph the titles of Ruknu 'd-Dín and Yamínu Amíri'l-Mú'minín. In Şafar, A. H. 488 he again fought a battle with his uncle Tutush <sup>1)</sup> near Işfahán, took him captive, and interned him in the Castle of Tikrít (451), where he died. Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk was replaced as Prime Minister by his brother Fakhru'l-Mulk. The Assassins tried but failed to kill Barkiyáruq. Zangí b. Áq-sunqur is made ruler of Syria <sup>2)</sup>. In A. H. 489 Barkiyáruq was attacked by his uncle Arslán Arghún, who, however, was assassinated by one

1) MS. Tukush, *male*.

2) According to Ibnu'l-Athír and the *Şahán-ará* this 'Imádu'd-Dín Zangí was made governor of Syria and Mesopotamia by Sulṭán Maḥmúd (p. 102 *infra*, N<sup>o</sup>. 7) in A. H. 521.

of his slaves ere the two armies had met. Sinjar was made governor of Khurásán in A. H. 490. Unaz, one of Maliksháh's slaves, rebelled against Barkiyáruq, but was assassinated in Muḥarram, A. H. 492, near Sáwa. In the same year (= A. D. 1099) the Franks recaptured Jerusalem, and killed 70,000 Muslims. Muḥammad b. Maliksháh rebels against his brother Barkiyáruq. Majdu'l-Mulk of Qum (452) is dragged from Barkiyáruq's presence and murdered by the nobles. Barkiyáruq fled by way of Ray and Iṣfahán to Khúzistán, where he was reinforced by Şadaqa. Meanwhile Muḥammad b. Maliksháh was crowned at Hamadán, made Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk his minister, and in Rajab, A. H. 493, defeated his brother Barkiyáruq, but in Jumáda ii of the following year he was in turn defeated, and the Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk taken prisoner (453), and a few days later put to death by Barkiyáruq with his own hands, on Sha'bán 8. Meanwhile Muḥammad b. Maliksháh was reinforced by his great-uncle Sinjar. A temporary peace was ended by a battle near Sáwa in Rabí' ii, A. H. 495. Muḥammad was defeated, and fled to Iṣfahán, whence, after a second defeat, he was driven back to Ganja. In Jumádá ii, A. H. 496, the two half-brothers made a peace based on the granting to Muḥammad of the western provinces of the empire. Soon after Barkiyáruq's illness increased, and he died at Burújird on 12 Jumáda ii, A. H. 498, naming his son Maliksháh his successor, and Ayáz his Atábek or guardian. (454) He was only 25 years of age at the time of his death, and had reigned 12 years.

(5) *Muḥammad b. Maliksháh.*

He at once marched to attack Ayáz and Şadaqa <sup>1)</sup>, whom he captured and put to death, and imprisoned his nephew Maliksháh. The Caliph received him with honour, and gave

<sup>1)</sup> This is an error, for Ayáz was killed in A. H. 498 and Şadaqa b. Mazyad "King of the Arabs" in A. H. 501.

him the title of Ghiyáthu'd-Dín, Qasímu Amíri'l-Mú'minín. Muḥammad next applied himself to the task of suppressing the Assassins, who had waxed strong during the civil war, so that Aḥmad b. 'Aṭṭásh had taken possession of the castle of Sháh <sup>1)</sup> Dizh, close to Isfahán, and had won over to himself 30,000 men. Sa'du'l-Mulk, the king's *wazír*, was one of these and he strove to compass the king's death by (455) bribing the surgeon-barber who was to bleed him to poison his lancet. This plot is revealed by the wife of Sa'du'l-Mulk's chamberlain to her paramour, and by him to the king, who kills the barber and the *wazír* and his adherents. Thereupon Aḥmad b. 'Aṭṭásh capitulates, and is put to a shameful death. Story of 'Alí b. Madaní, the blind decoy of the Assassins, and their secret murder-house. (456) Discovery of the victims' remains. 'Alí b. Madaní, his wife and their associates are put to death. The king sends the Atábek Shír-gír to attack Ḥasan-i-Šabbáḥ and the Assassins of Alamút, but the king's death took place before anything was effected. In A. H. 500 Fakhru'l-Mulk b. Niẓámu'l-Mulk was assassinated, and his brother Ziyá'u'l-Mulk <sup>2)</sup> was made *wazír* in his place. 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Abú Háshim of Hamadán outwits the malice of Ziyá'u'l-Mulk. In A. H. 502 (457) Sultán Muḥammad undertakes a campaign against India. He brings back an immense idol to Isfahán and makes it the threshold of a *madrasa* <sup>3)</sup>. He died on Dhu'l-Ḥijja 14, A. H. 511, and is buried in that same *madrasa*. Verses composed by him on his deathbed. He was 37 years old at his death, and had reigned 13 years.

(6) *Sinjar b. Maliksháh.*

He was for 20 years ruler of Khurásán, and afterwards

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1) MS. Siyáh Dizh, *male*.

2) According to Ibnu'l-Athír he also bore the title of Niẓámu'l-Mulk.

3) There seems no ground for this statement, and it would appear that the author has wrongly ascribed to this king an achievement of Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna.

for 40 years and 4 months "King of the kings of the world", holding sway from Tartary to Egypt and Syria, and from the Caspian Sea to Arabia Felix, and he was amongst the kings of Islám what Khusraw Parwíz was amongst the Sásánians. He won 17 out of 19 great battles which he fought. The Caliph Mustarshid (458) conferred on him the titles of Mu'izzu'd-Dín <sup>1)</sup> and Burhānu Amíri'l-Mú'minín. He placed Bahrámsháh on the throne of Ghazna, and allowed him 1000 dínárs a day. He defeats his nephew Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad b. Maliksháh, but forgives him and confers on him the government of the Western provinces, which, on Maḥmúd's death, he transferred to Maḥmúd's brother Ṭughril, and afterwards on another brother, Mas'úd. In A. H. 515 Sinjar's mother died. In A. H. 524 he took Samarqand from its ruler, Muḥammad <sup>2)</sup> b. Sulaymán, who had defied him, but afterwards reinstated him. In A. H. 530 Bahrámsháh of Ghazna opposed him (459), but was reduced to obedience. War with the Khwárazmsháhs. In A. H. 535 he was defeated at Dasht-i-Qaṭawán near Samarqand by the army of Cathay and lost Transoxiana, which passed into the hands of the heathen. Verses of Farídu'd-Dín-i-Kátib on this subject. Heavy losses of the Muslims in this war. In A. H. 543 Bahrámsháh defeated the Ghúrís (460), and sent the head of Súrí to Sinjar. Verses of Fakhru'd-Dín Khálid of Merv on this event. In A. H. 544 <sup>3)</sup> 'Alí Chatrí <sup>4)</sup>, whom Sinjar had raised from the position of court-jester to the governorship of Herát, rebelled against him, and joined 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn of Ghúr. Sinjar conquered and captured them, and put 'Alí Chatrí <sup>4)</sup> to death, but

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1) MS. Mu'izzu'd-Dawla, *male*.

2) MS. Aḥmad, *male*.

3) The real date was A. H. 547, according to Ibnu'l-Athír and the author of the *Chahár Maqála* (pp. 65, 87), who was himself present at the battle.

4) MS. Ḥimyarí; but the *Káhatu's-Šudúr* (Suppl. pers. 1314, f. 73) in five places, as well as Gantin's Paris edition of the *Guzída*, p. 264, gives Chatrí as the correct reading.

pardoned 'Alá'u'd-Dín and replaced him on the throne of Ghúr. In A. H. 548 Sinjar was taken captive by the Ghuzz. Causes of their revolt. (461) Their efforts to reconcile themselves with Sinjar fail, and a battle is fought, in which Sinjar is taken prisoner and his troops are routed. (462) Sinjar is detained by them four years, while they lay waste Khurásán, and kill or maltreat many of its inhabitants, amongst them Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá, to whose death Kháqání alludes in a celebrated verse. Early in A. H. 551 Sinjar's wife, Turkán Khátún, died, and Sinjar bribed his custodian, Amír Ilyás, to help him to escape. By the help of Aḥmad b. Qumáj, governor of Tirmidh, he was conveyed across the Oxus, and in Ramaḍán, A. H. 551, made his way back to Merv. On his arrival there, he fell sick, and died on (463) 26 Rabí' i, A. H. 552, at the age of 72. He was at first succeeded by his nephew Maḥmúd Khán b. Muḥammad Khán, of the family of Bughrá Khán, who ruled for five years and a half, but was deposed and blinded in Ramaḍán, A. H. 557, and died a year later. Part of Khurásán was then seized by Mu'ayyad, and part by Khwárazmsháh.

(7) *Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad b. Maliksháh.*

He succeeded his father in 'Iráq, and, after being reconciled to his uncle, extended his sway over Ādharbáyján, Baghdád, Diyár Bakr, Fárs, Arrán, Armenia and Georgia. The Caliph al-Mustarshid confers titles on him. In A. H. 514 he defeated his brother Mas'úd outside Hamadán. He reigned 13 years and 2 months. His quarrel with the Caliph al-Mustarshid. He takes Baghdád. (464) He brings the finances of the kingdom into order. He died on Shawwál ii, A. H. 525 at the age of 27. His *wazír* Náṣir b. 'Alí Darkajíní (al-Darkazíní) tried to place Prince Dá'úd on the throne, but Sinjar appointed Ṭughril, the brother of the late king.

(8) *Tughril Beg b. Muḥammad b. Maliksháh.*

The Caliph al-Mustarshid gives him the titles of Ruknu'd-Dín and Yamínu Amíri'l-Mú'mínín. Wars between him and his elder brother Mas'úd. Darkajíní put to death. Tughril reigned 3 years and 2 months, and died at Hamadán in Muḥarram, A. H. 529, at the age of 25 years.

(9) *Mas'úd b. Muḥammad b. Maliksháh.*

He gave his daughter Gawhar Khátún in marriage to his rival Prince Dá'úd b. Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad, on whom he conferred the government of Ādharbáyján, Arrán and Armenia (465), and who made Tabríz his capital. Dá'úd reigned 7 years, at the end of which time he was assassinated by *fidá'is* at Tabríz in A. H. 533 as he was entering the bath. Sultán Mas'úd fought and took captive the Caliph al-Mustarshid, who was also assassinated by *fidá'is* at Marágha. He then inflicted a defeat on the Caliph ar-Ráshid, who was also assassinated at Iṣfahán. Al-Muqtafí was then made Caliph, and conferred on Mas'úd the titles of Ghiyáthu 'd-Dín and Qasímu Amíri'l-Mú'mínín. Khwája Kamálu'd-Dín Muḥammad-i-Kházin made *wasír*. He arouses the hostility of the Amírs, and the Atábek Qarásunqur compels the Sultán to put him to death. (466) Troubles in Fárs. Death of Qarásunqur. The Atábek Ilduguz made governor of Ādharbáyján and Arrán, and the Atábek Jáwulí of Fárs. Abortive revolt against Mas'úd by his nephews and certain Atábeks. Sulaymánsháh imprisoned in the citadel of Qazwín, where he was kept for 7 years. Mas'úd makes war against the Assassins and besieges the Qal'a-i-Qáhira, one of their strongholds near Qazwín, but, dissensions breaking out in the army, nothing is effected. Death of Amír Jáwulí at Zanján. (467) The Atábek Qarāja becomes ruler of Fárs, but is killed there soon afterwards. Mas'úd then makes his nephew Mu-

ḥammad b. Maḥmúd governor of Fárs, and gives him his daughter Gawhar Khátún (the widow of Dá'úd) in marriage. Plots of certain Amírs, and the doom which overtook them. In A. H. 543 the Salgharí Sunqur b. Mawdúd seized Fárs, which thus passed from the possession of the Seljúqs. (468) Four years later Sultán Mas'úd died on Rajab 1, A. H. 547 at Hamadán, after a reign of 18 years and a half, at the age of 45 years.

(10) *Maliksháh b. Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad.*

He succeeded his uncle, and received the titles of Mughíthu 'd-Dín and Yamínu Amíri'l-Mú'minín. After 4 months he was deposed and imprisoned by Kháṣṣ-beg, who proclaimed his brother [Muḥammad] king. He escaped from prison to Isfahán, where he again asserted his sovereignty, but died 15 days later on the 11th of Rabí' i, A. H. 555, at the age of 32, eight years after his first accession.

(11) *Ghiyáthu'd-Din Muḥammad b. Maḥmúd.*

He succeeded his brother, and put Kháṣṣ-Beg and Zangí-i-Jándár to death at Hamadán. (469) His liberality to the troops. Titles conferred on him by the Caliph. Escape of his uncle Sulaymánsháh from the citadel of Qazwín. His rebellion, at first successful, utterly collapses, and Muḥammad re-establishes his rule. Continued civil war. Death of Sinjar. Growing anarchy. Khurásán is lost to the Seljúqs in A. H. 553. War and reconciliation with the Caliph. Death of Sultán Muḥammad in A. H. 554 after a reign of 7 years.

(12) *Sulaymánsháh b. Muḥammad b. Maliksháh.*

He nominates Arslán b. Tughril (471) his successor, and after a reign of 8 months is deposed by the Amírs at the end of Ramaḍán, A. H. 555, and died in prison in the following year. His titles.

(13) *Arslán b. Tughril b. Muḥammad b. Maliksháh.*

He succeeded his uncle, and married the Caliph's daughter Khátún-i-Kirmání <sup>1)</sup>. His step-father, Atábek Ilduguz, administered the kingdom. Titles conferred on him by the Caliph. Arslán defeats his rival, Muḥammad b. Seljúqsháh. His victory over the people of Abkház. Fresh activity of the Assassins (472), who build new castles near Qazwín, and terrorize the neighbourhood. Arslán takes four of their castles, including the Qal'a-i-Qáhira, which Sulṭán Mas'úd had failed to conquer. He meets the Atábek Zangí at Iṣfahán, and pays him honour, and confers on him the province of Fárs. Invasions of Khwárazmsháh in A. H. 561 and A. H. 563. Assassination of 'Inánj. Death of Arslán's mother in A. H. 568, and of the Atábek Ilduguz a month later. Verses of the Qáḍí Ruknu'd-Dín of Khúy on this. (473) The king of Abkház again attacks the lands of Islám in A. H. 569. Arslán, with the Atábeks Muḥammad and Qizil Arslán, the sons of Ilduguz, marches against them. Arslán marries Sittí Fáṭima, daughter of 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, and dies 15 days later, in the middle of Jumáda ii, A. H. 571, after a reign of 15 years, 8 months, and 15 days.

(14) *Tughril b. Arslán b. Tughril.*

He succeeds his father, and receives titles from the Caliph. His gracious appearance and character. His verses. His uncles Atábek Muḥammad b. Ilduguz and Qizil Arslán administer his kingdom. Invasion of the Abkházís, and of the king's uncle Muḥammad b. Tughril, both of which are defeated. For two years, while the Atábek Muḥammad was alive, all went well. In A. H. 581 took place that ominous and celebrated conjunction of the stars which led the astrologers, and especially the poet Anwarí, to predict some great dis-

1) MS. Kirmán Khátún, but the name is given as above in the *Ráḥat'u's-Sudúr* (Suppl. pers. 1314, f. 116b).

aster, such as gales and earthquakes <sup>1)</sup>). At the time predicted, however, a remarkable calm prevailed. Verses satirizing Anwarí. However in this year was born Chingíz Khán, who afterwards wrought such devastation in the world, and at the end of the same year the Atábek Muḥammad died, and the kingdom fell into confusion. (475) Qizil Arslán succeeds Muḥammad as Atábek, but soon quarrels with and revolts against Ṭughril, proclaims Sinjar b. Maliksháh in his stead at Hamadán, and finally defeats Ṭughril, and imprisons him and his son in the castle of Kihrán. Next day, however, Qizil Arslán is found killed, in Shawwál, A. H. 587. (476) Massacre of Assassins (*Maláḥida*) at Baghdád. Sayfī'd-Dīn Maḥmud releases Ṭughril and his son from captivity. In the middle of Jumáda ii, A. H. 588 Ṭughril fought a battle with Qutlugh 'Inánj <sup>2)</sup> outside Qazwín, and defeated him. Soon afterwards Tukush Khwárazmsháh invaded Persia, defeated Ṭughril, and compelled him to cede Ray. In A. H. 590 Ṭughril was victorious in another battle with Qutlugh 'Inánj, and celebrated his victory at Ray with wine and poetry (477). Tukush returned to the attack, accompanied by Qutlugh 'Inánj. Ṭughril went into battle drunk, reciting verses from the *Sháhnáma*, and struck a blow with his mace which fell on his own horse's leg, and brought both rider and steed to the ground. (478) 'Inánj Qutlugh killed him as he lay helpless on the ground. His head was sent to Baghdád and gibbeted opposite the Caliph's palace. Thus ended the power of the Seljúqs in 'Iráq, which passed into the hands of the Khwárazmsháhs. Most of the Atábeks and Amírs of the Seljúqs who had betrayed their masters came to a bad end. Of those

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1) Mírzá Muḥammad regards this well-known story as apocryphal, since he has shown by internal evidence that Anwarí was already a poet of renown in A. H. 500, so that it is very improbable that he was still alive and active in A. H. 581.

2) The son of the Atábek Muḥammad, son of the Atábek 'Ilduguz.

who were faithful, Nuṣratu'd-Dín Abú Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Ilduguz reigned for 20 years after his uncle Qizil Arslán over Arrán and Adharbáyján, and died in A. H. 607. He was succeeded by his brother Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Uzbeg, who reigned for 15 years and died in A. H. 622, after which his kingdom (479) passed into the possession of the Khwárazmsháhs.

## 2. *The Seljúqs of Kirmán.*

The first of them was (1) Qáwurd b. Chaghrí Beg b. Míká'il, who became governor of Kirmán in A. H. 433, and ruled over it for 32 years. In A. H. 455 he added Shíráz to his domains, and drove out the Daylamites. In A. H. 465 he was taken prisoner and poisoned by Maliksháh, who gave Kirmán to his son (2) Sulṭánsháh, who died in A. H. 476 after a reign of 12 years. He in turn was succeeded by his brother (3) Túránsháh, who reigned 13½ years and died in A. H. 489. He was succeeded by his son (4) 'Tránsháh, who reigned for 5 years, when his subjects, suspecting him of heresy, revolted against him and killed him in A. H. 494. He was succeeded by his cousin (5) Arslánsháh b. Kirmánsháh b. Qáwurd, who reigned for 42 years, and died in A. H. 536. He was succeeded by his son (6) Muḥammad-sháh, who reigned for 14 years and died in A. H. 550. He was succeeded by his son (7) Ṭughrilsháh, who reigned for 12 years and died in A. H. 562. Thereupon his three sons (8) Arslánsháh, Bahrámsháh and Túránsháh contended for the kingdom for 8 years (480), each ruling the country for a time, while the land was wasted and laid desolate. Finally (9) Muḥammad-sháh b. Bahrámsháh succeeded, but Mubáráksháh and others of his kinsmen revolted against him, and he took refuge with Arslán b. Ṭughril, who gave him help, so that he compelled Mubáráksháh to flee to Ghúr. But in A. H. 583 the Ghuzz, led by Malik Dínár, invaded Kirmán and put an end to the Seljúq rule there.

3. *The Seljûqs of Rûm (Asia Minor).*

When Alp Arslán conquered and slew Qutulmish b. Isrá'íl, he wished to extirpate his family, but the Nizámu'l-Mulk dissuaded him, and sent them in command of troops to Syria. (1) Sulaymán b. Qutulmish seized Antioch during the absence of its ruler. Sharafu'd-Dawla 'Alí <sup>1)</sup>, who collected tribute for the Seljûqs in those parts, demanded tribute from Sulaymán, who refused it, defeated and killed Sharafu'd-Dawla and added Aleppo to his domains. He wrote to inform Maliksháh what had happened, but before an answer came was attacked by Táju'd-Dawla Tutush b. Alp Arslán (481), and, being deserted by his *amírs*, committed suicide. Maliksháh was much distressed at his death, and appointed his son (2) Dá'úd to succeed him. Dánishmand, being threatened by the Byzantines, asked help from the surrounding Muslim potentates, and Dá'úd came to his assistance, and was rewarded by the throne of Qonya (Iconium) in A. H. 480. He reigned 20 years and died in A. H. 500. His brother (3) Qilij Arslán succeeded him and reigned for 40 years. At the end of his reign Sultán Mas'úd ruled in 'Iráq, and the Caliph, disliking him, held out to Qilij Arslán hopes of the sovereignty of 'Iráq, so, leaving his son Mas'úd as his vicegerent in Asia Minor, he marched on Baghdád, but perished in A. H. 539, and was buried at Mayyáfáriqín. (482) His son (4) Mas'úd succeeded him, reigned 19 years, and died in A. H. 558. He was succeeded by his son (5) 'Izzu'd-Dín Qilij Arslán, who reigned 20 years, and had 10 sons. The increasing weakness of the Dánishmandí dynasty led him to covet their domains, and he took Síwás and Qaysariyya, and built Aq-saráy, which places he finally retained in spite of the temporary

1) This is an error and an anachronism. Sharafu'd-Dawla Muslim b. Quraysh b. Badrán was governor of Mesopotamia on the part of the Banú 'Aqíl. See Ibnu'l-Athír, under the year A. H. 477, and the *Jahán-ará* (British Museum, Or. 141, f. 127b).

successes of the Atábek Núru'd-Dín, king of Syria, and Fakhru'd-Dín 'Abdu'l-Masíh against him. He divided his realms amongst his sons, and nominated as his successor the youngest, (6) Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Kay-Khusraw, who came to the throne in A. H. 578. His elder brother (7) Ruknu'd-Dín Sulaymán contests the kingdom with him (483), and besieges Qonya, which finally surrenders. Kay-Khusraw escapes to Constantinople. Ruknu'd-Dín receives titles from the Caliph and takes Arzanu'r-Rúm (Erzeroum), but is defeated by the Georgians. He then prepared to march into Rúm, but died in A. H. 602, after a reign of 24 years and was succeeded by his son (8) 'Izzu'd-Dín Qilij Arslán, then only a child. When 'Izzu'd-Dín had reigned 18 months, dissensions broke out amongst the *amírs*, and Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Kay-Khusraw returned, took Qonya, and deposed his nephew, who shortly afterwards died in captivity. Kay-Khusraw conquered Qaramán and took many fortresses near Ládhiqiyya (Latakia), and finally (484) fell in battle against the unbelievers in A. H. 609. He was succeeded by his son (9) 'Izzu'd-Dín Kay-Ká'us, who died a year later, and was succeeded by his brother (10) 'Alá'u'd-Dín Kay-qubád, who reigned 26 years, and was the most illustrious of this dynasty. His brother Ruknu'd-Dín Sulaymán rebelled against him, but was conquered, imprisoned and shortly afterwards died. He also successfully waged war with Jalálu'd-Dín Khwárazmsháh. He died in A. H. 636, poisoned by his son (11) Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Kay-Khusraw, who succeeded him, and reigned 8 years. During his reign the Mongols over-ran Asia Minor, subduing in turn all its princes, and Ghiyáthu'd-Dín died in A. H. 644. He was succeeded by his son (12) Ruknu'd-Dín Sulaymán-sháh<sup>1)</sup>, whose minister was Mu'ínu'd-Dín Parwána of Káshán, and who sent his brother 'Alá'u'd-Dín Kay-qubád as ambas-

1) In the *Jahán-ará* (British Museum, Or. 141, f. 95a), and by Lane-Poole, who follows it, this king's name is given as Ruknu'd-Dín Qilij-Arslán.

sador to the Mongol Qá'án. This brother returned, having successfully accomplished his mission, but was poisoned by Ruknu'd-Dín on his arrival at the frontier. (485) Another brother, Kay-Ká'ús, attempted to wrest the crown from him, but died ere he could effect anything. In A. H. 664 Ruknu'd-Dín Sulaymánsháh was put to death by order of Abáqá Khán, and was succeeded by his son (13) Kay-Khusraw. As he was of tender years, the administration of the kingdom was entrusted by the Mongols to Mu'ínu'd-Dín Parwána, who married the young Sultan's mother. Kay-Khusraw reigned 18 years, and was finally put to death by order of the Mongol Aḥmad Khán. He was succeeded by (14) Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Mas'úd b. Kay-Ká'ús, who was appointed by Arghún Khán the Mongol. In his reign the realm was disturbed, and Antioch and Latakia were lost. A Mongol army was sent by Gaykhátú and Húláchú, and the author's cousin Fakhru'd-Dín Muḥammad Mustawfí was made *wazír*. He restored order to the kingdom, but was put to death through the intrigues of Sa'du'd-Dawla, the Jewish *wazír* of Arghún Khán, and was succeeded in this office by Fakhru'd-Dín (486) Aḥmad-í-Arkúshí of Tabríz. Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Mas'úd died in A. H. 697, and was succeeded by his nephew (15) Kay-qubád b. Farámuraz, who was appointed by Gházán Khán. Later he rebelled, but was defeated and deposed by the Mongols, and so ended the dynasty, save that some princelings of the House of Seljúq still held sway in the author's time in certain regions on the coast <sup>1)</sup>.

*Section 7. — Khwárazmsháhs.*

These were 10 in number, and reigned from A. H. 491 until the month of Shawwál, A. H. 628, that is, for a period of 138 years.

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1) Historians differ much as to the duration of this dynasty and the names and numbers of its members.

(1) *Núshtigín Gharcha* <sup>1</sup>).

He was originally the slave of Bulkatigín, a slave of Sultán Maliksháh, to whose office he succeeded, becoming governor of Khwárazm (487), in which position he continued until his death, which happened in the time of Barkiyáruq. He was succeeded by his son —

(2) *Muḥammad b. Núshtigín*,

who was appointed by Sinjar, and received the title of Quṭbu'd-Dín in A. H. 491. He was a loyal and active vassal of the Seljúqs, and, after a reign of 30 years, died in A. H. 521. He was succeeded by his son —

(3) *Atsiz b. Muḥammad*.

He enjoyed great favour with Sinjar. This moved the other nobles to jealousy, and they succeeded in sowing mistrust between them. Atsiz retired to Khwárazm, and presently rebelled against the Sultan, who drove him out of Khwárazm, and gave the government of it to his nephew Sulaymán b. Muḥammad. On Sinjar's departure, Atsiz returned, recaptured Khwárazm, assumed the title of King and removed the names of the Seljúqs from the coinage and the *khuṭba*, in A. H. 535. Congratulatory ode composed by Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwát in honour of this event. Anger of Sinjar (488), who returned and captured Khwárazm, but forgave Atsiz. Atsiz again revolts. Verses sent by him to Sinjar. Reproaches addressed by Sinjar to him. Adíb Şábir, the poet, is sent

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1) MS. Gharácha, *male*. Ibnu'l-Athír (*sub anno* 490) says he was called Gharshja, because he was a native of Gharshistán, while in the *Jahán-ará* (British Museum, Or. 141, f. 99a) it is stated that he was called after Gharcha in Samarqand because he had been bought there as a slave by Maliksháh's servant Bulkatigín. As the author of the *Guzida* says just above that the dynasty began in A. H. 491 it appears that he does not reckon Núshtigín himself as one of them, but begins with his son Muḥammad.

by Sinjar to Khwárazm. He exposes a plot devised by Atsiz against Sinjar's life, and is drowned in the Oxus by Atsiz. In A. H. 542 Sinjar again marches on Khwárazm and besieges the Castle of Hazárasp. Verses composed by Anwarí written on an arrow and shot into the Castle. (489) Verses composed by Rashíd-i-Waṭwát in reply and similarly shot into Sinjar's camp. Anger of Sinjar, who vows if he catches Rashíd, to cut him into seven pieces. Hazárasp falls, but Rashíd's life is saved by the intercession of a courtier. Khwárazm submits to Sinjar, who pardons Atsiz and reinstates him. Other towns in that region agrees to pay tribute. When Sinjar was taken captive by the Ghuzz, his nobles appealed for help to Atsiz (490), but Sinjar's release was effected before he could respond. He reigned 29 years, for 16 years of which period he was an independent sovereign, and died on the 9th of Jumáda ii, A. H. 551. Verses composed by Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwát on his death.

(4) *Íl-Arslán* (MS. *Alp Arslán*) *b. Atsiz*.

Unsuccessful rivalry of Sulaymán, another son of Atsiz. On the death of Sinjar, Khurásán was filled with disorder, and Khwárazmsháh succeeded in adding parts of it to his domains. The Khán of Samarqand slew the chief of the Qarlugh tribe, who appealed to Íl-Arslán. He besieged Samarqand and restored peace <sup>1</sup>). Seven years later he is attacked by the Qará-Khitáy, falls sick, and suffers defeat. (491) He dies on Rajab 9, A. H. 558 <sup>2</sup>).

(5) *Sulṭánsháh b. Íl-Arslán b. Atsiz*.

He was of tender years on his accession, and his mother

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1) The text is corrupt. The incident is fully described in the second part of the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahán-Gushá* of Juwaynî. The name of the Turkish tribe in question is variously given as Qarlugh, Qarluh, and Kharluh.

2) Rajab 19, A. H. 560 is the more correct date given in the *Jahán-Gushá*. Ibnu'l-Athír gives A. H. 568.

acted as regent. His elder brother Tukush demands a share of the kingdom. Verses exchanged between Sulṭánsháh and Maliksháh b. Tukush on this subject. Civil war of an indecisive character ensues for 10 years. In A. H. 568 (MS. 558) <sup>1)</sup> Tukush invokes the help of the daughter of the Gúr Khán of Qará-Khitáy, to whom he offers tribute, and obtains possession of Khwárazm. Sulṭánsháh reigned over his diminished kingdom for 21 years more (492) and died at the end of Ramaḍán, A. H. 589.

(6) *Tukush Khán b. Íl-Arslán.*

He succeeded to a part of the kingdom on the defeat of his brother on the twelfth of Rabí' i, A. H. 568. Congratulatory verses on his accession by Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwát. Successive conquests of Tukush. He kills Sulṭán Ṭughril the Seljúq and takes 'Iráq (493). The Caliph tries to reconquer it, but his army is defeated. Verses composed by Sinjar Sháh on his blindness. Conquest of Kirmán. Punitive expeditions against Daylamites and Assassins, and capture of the Assassin stronghold of Arslán-Gusháy. In revenge the Assassins killed Shamsu'd-Dín the *wazír* of Tukush. Tukush prepares to take further measures against the Assassins, but dies on Ramaḍán 19, A. H. 596, after a reign of 28½ years, for 6 of which he also held sway over 'Iráq (494).

(7) *'Alá'u'd-Dín <sup>2)</sup> Muḥammad Tukush.*

His wars with the kings of Ghúr. Earthquakes at Nishápúr of great violence, extending over two months, in which almost the whole of the ancient city was destroyed. Sixty-four years later, in A. H. 669, another earthquake destroyed

1) The same date, A. H. 568, is also given in the *Ṣahán-Gushá*. The reading of this text obviously an error.

2) MS. Quṭbu'd-Dín, which (Ibnu'l-Athír, *sub anno* 596) was his title before he succeeded to the throne, when it was changed to his father's title 'Alá'u'd-Dín.

the new city which had been built after the first earthquake, and the town had to be again rebuilt. A descendant of the Sásanian king Yazdigird called Ghází rules in Mázandarán. He is murdered by his brother-in-law, a man of low origin named Abú Rizá, who is in turn killed by his wife in revenge for her brother. She then offers herself in marriage to Khwárazmsháh, who, not finding her beautiful, gives her in marriage to one of his *amírs*, and takes possession of Mázandarán. He then takes Kirmán, and makes Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk Qiwámu'd-Dín Abú Bakr ruler of Zawzan, which afterwards passes to Ikhtiyáru'd-Dín, Shujá'u'd-Dín Abu'l-Qásim acting as deputy-governor for some while. (495) In A. H. 609 the Ghúrís are overthrown, and Khwárazmsháh takes possession of their kingdom. His three campaigns against the Gúr-Khán of Qará-Khitáy, whom he finally subdues, and receives the title of "the Shadow of God on the Earth" (*Zillu'lláhi fi'lard*). Verses on this composed by the Munshí Núru'd-Dín <sup>1)</sup>. Verses on this poet's predilection for wine. The Gúr-Khán is taken captive by Kúchluk, king of the Náymán <sup>2)</sup> and dies two years later. Khwárazmsháh, on the death of Táju'd-Dín 'Ilduguz, takes Ghazna and Ghúr, and bestows them on his son Jalálu'd-Dín. He receives the title of "the Second Alexander" (*Iskandar-i-thání*), and adds to his Imperial pomp (496) a band of 27 golden kettle-drums, each of which, on the first day, is played by a prince, 15 of these princes being of other houses, and 12 of his own family. He puts Shaykh Majdu'd-Dín Baghdádí <sup>3)</sup> to death on suspicion of adultery with his mother, and sets up Sayyid 'Imádu'd-Dín of Tirmidh as a rival to the Caliph of

1) In the *Jahán-Gushá* he is entitled Nizámu'd-Dín, not Núru'd-Dín.

2) See vol. i of the *Jahán-Gushá* in this series, p. 48.

3) This Majdu'd-Dín was a celebrated Šúfí, a pupil of Shaykh Najmu'd-Dín Kubrá and one of the spiritual directors of Shaykh Farídu'd-Dín 'Attár. The circumstances to which reference is here made are set forth in the *Nafahátu'l-Uns*, *Haft Iqlím*, *Majma'ul-Fuṣṣahá* (vol. i, p. 542), etc., and in my *Literary History of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 494—5.

Baghdád, against whom he undertakes a campaign. On the way to 'Irâq he defeats the Atábeks of Fârs and Âdhar-bâyján. The former, Sa'îd b. Zangî, he takes captive, and before releasing him exacts a tribute amounting to two-thirds of the revenues of Fârs: the latter, Uzbek, he puts to flight. He then marches by way of Asad-âbâd (near Hamadân) on Baghdad, but is stopped by heavy snow, which causes great losses to his army. His prestige is much injured by this reverse, and it was at this juncture that certain Mongol merchants, subjects of Chingîz Khán, who had come to Utrár, were put to death, and their goods seized (497), by the governor of that city, who was related to Khwárazmsháh's mother. Chingîz Khán sent ambassadors to demand reparation, and these too were insulted and killed. Thereupon Chingîz Khán declared war on Khwárazmsháh, who had an initial success near Káshghar, in spite of which he retreated, filled with alarm at the determined valour of the Mongols. His minister, Badru'd-Dín 'Amíd, goes over to the Mongols, and, by forged letters, succeeds in sowing dissension between Khwárazmsháh and his nobles, and thus makes easy the advance of the Mongols. (498) Khwárazmsháh took refuge in the Island of Âbasgún in the Caspian, and died there in A. H. 617 in the greatest want and misery. His body was later exhumed and burned by the Mongols. He had reigned 21 years, and left 7 sons, Âq-Sultán, Arzlâq Sultán, Kú-chây-tigín and Oghúl Malik, who perished at the hands of the Mongols and never succeeded to sovereign power, and Jalálu'd-Dín Mankobirní, Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Pír-sháh and Ruknu'd-Dín Ghúrsá'ijí, of whom the last, though the youngest, first succeeded to the Throne on his father's death.

(8) *Ruknu'd-Dín Ghúrsá'ijí.*

His father left him 'Irâq, and 'Imádu'l-Mulk was his minister. After his father's death he went to Kirmán, seized the

treasury there, and returned to Isfahán, where the citizens opposed him by force of arms, and some thousand persons were slain. Thence he went to Ray and Fírúzkúh, and entrenched himself in the Castle of Gird-Kúh, which the Mongols besieged for 6 months and finally captured. As Ruknu'd-Dín refused to bow the knee before the Mongol commander (499) they slew him and all his soldiers and attendants in A. H. 619.

(9) *Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Pir-Sháh.*

On the death of his father he went to Kirmán, which his father had assigned to him. Shujá'u'd-Dín Abu'l-Qásim-i-Zawzaní, who had hitherto acted as his deputy, refused to admit him, so he turned back on Fárs, where he defeated the Atábek Sa'd b. Zangí, devastated the country, passed on to 'Iráq, and assumed the crown at Ray. Here he was attacked by his brother Jalálu'd-Dín, who had just returned from India, and was compelled to submit to him. After a while he killed Nuşrat Malik b. Kharmíl, a favourite of Jalálu'd-Dín, and fled into Khúzistán and later to Kirmán, where Buráq Ḥájib received him with magnanimity and concluded a treaty with him. Later a conspiracy was formed by some of Buráq's relatives (500) to put Ghiyáthu'd-Dín on the throne. Buráq discovered it, publicly put the conspirators to death, and secretly strangled Ghiyáthu'd-Dín and his mother, whom he had taken to wife. This happened in A. H. 627.

(10) *Jalálu'd-Dín Mankobirní.*

On his father's death he proceeded to Khwárazm, but, not being loyally supported by his *amírs*, he retreated to Ghazna. His brothers Arzláq and 'Aq-Sulţán followed him to persuade him to return, but when they reached the frontiers of Khurásán they were attacked by the Mongols and

killed. In that year Jalálu'd-Dín fought seven battles with the Mongols and was victorious in all, until finally Chingíz Khán himself marched against him, in the month of Shawwál, A. H. 618, and defeated him. Jalálu'd-Dín with 700 of his men attempted to swim the river into Sind, but only he and seven of his companions reached the other shore in safety. He then gathered a fresh army, conquered a considerable portion of India, and remained there two years, when, hearing that Chingíz Khán had withdrawn from Persia, he left Jahán Pahlawán Uzbek as his deputy in India (501), and himself set out for Persia, where he arrived in A. H. 621. He first entered Kirmán, and there married the daughter of Buráq Hájib. Thence he proceeded to Fárs, and married the daughter of the Atábek Sa'd. Thence he advanced through Iṣfahán to Ray, where his brother Ghiyáthu'd-Dín was ruler. Thence to Baghdád, where he defeated the Arabs. He next seized Adharbáyján, and married Malika Khátún, daughter of the Seljúq Ṭughril, who had been divorced by the Atábek Uzbek. Jalálu'd-Dín, next subdued Georgia. He returned from Tiflis to Kirmán in seventeen days, but was met on his approach by its ruler Buráq Hájib, who persuaded him to retire <sup>1</sup>). Meanwhile al-Malik al-Ashraf abducted Malika Khátún from the Castle of Khúy, while the Georgians revolted. Jalálu'd-Dín thereupon marched to Akhlát to punish al-Malik al-Ashraf, but ere it surrendered news came that the Indian army had attacked 'Iráq. Jalálu'd-Dín now completed the subjugation of Georgia, reduced Akhlát, and took prisoner the wife of al-Malik al-Ashraf. (502) He next marched into Syria and Asia Minor to punish al-Malik al-Ashraf and 'Alá'u 'd-Dín Kay-qubád the Seljúq, but, being at the time ill, was repulsed. Shortly afterwards, however he renewed his campaign, and devastated their territories. Verses composed by

1) This MS., unlike most others, says that Jalálu'd-Dín killed Buráq, which is an obvious error, as the latter survived the former and died in A. H. 632.

him on this occasion. He next attacked the Mongols, who had advanced on Iṣfahán. Both right wings were defeated. Death of ‘Alá’u’d-Dawla <sup>1)</sup> Yazdí, the grandson of ‘Alá’u’d-Dawla <sup>1)</sup> Garshásf b. ‘Alí b. Farámarz b. ‘Alá’u’d-Dawla (a descendant of the ancient Kayání kings, whom Jalálu’d-Dín used to call his “father”, and to whom he had given the government of Khurásán) aged sixty years, in this battle. The Mongols march on Khurásán, and Jalálu’d-Dín retires to the mountains of Luristán, while his fugitive troops enter Isfahán. Good offices of the Qáđí Ruknu’d-Dín Šá‘idí in keeping the peace between them until the return of Jalálu’d-Dín seven days later. He goes to Arrán and Kurdistán, and in despair takes to drink. Verses on this by Núru’d-Dín Munshí. (503) The Mongols pursued him thither, and in the middle of Shawwál, A. H. 628 (= middle of August, A. D. 1231) surprised him drinking. He escaped, and wandered into the mountains, where he was murdered by a Kurd whose brother he had slain at Akhlát. With him perished the dynasty of the Khwárazmsháhs, and the Mongols became supreme in Persia.

*Section 8. — The Atábeks.*

Of these there were two separate dynasties, one in Syria and Diyár Bakr, the other in Fárs. The former comprised nine rulers, who reigned from A. H. 481 until A. H. 658, for 177 years; the latter, known as the Salghurís, comprised eleven rulers, who reigned 120 years, from A. H. 543 until A. H. 663.

1. *The Salghurí (? Sunqurí) Atábeks.*

These are said to be descended from Salghur, who was

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1) The MS. has *-Dín* instead of *-Dawla*, wrongly. ‘Alá’u’d-Dawla was the title borne by a series of rulers of Yazd descended from ‘Alá’u’d-Dawla Abú Ja‘far Muḥammad called Kákúya. See notes to *Chahár Maqála*, pp. 169—170.

of the race of Táq Khán son of Aghur <sup>1)</sup> Khán, and who joined the Seljúqs, and was given the position of chamberlain. According to another account, the Atábeks of Diyár Bakr and Fárs were originally of one family, while others say that the Atábeks of Shíráz were descended from Salghur, and the Atábeks of Diyár Bakr and Syria from Aq-Sunqur (504), the favourite slave of Maliksháh, on whom the government of Aleppo was conferred in A. H. 481. He ruled this city for ten years, and died in A. H. 491. His son (2) Zangí succeeded him, and was made governor of all Syria by Barkiyáruq, with the title of 'Imádu'd-Dín <sup>2)</sup>. In the reign of Muḥammad b. Maliksháh, Arbíl, Moṣul and part of Diyár Bakr were added to his dominions. He had 3 sons, Búzába <sup>3)</sup>, Núru'd-Dín [Maḥmúd] and Mawdúd. Búzába <sup>3)</sup> was made governor of Fárs, Núru'd-Dín [Maḥmúd] of Syria, and Mawdúd of Diyár Bakr. Núru'd-Dín Zangí died in A. H. 541 <sup>4)</sup>. His son (3) Núru'd-Dín [Maḥmúd] reigned in Syria 46 years and died in A. H. 568 <sup>5)</sup>. He was succeeded by his son (4) al-Malik aṣ-Ṣálih, who was driven out by his cousin (5) [Quṭbu'd-Dín] Mawdúd, who reigned 43 years in Diyár Bakr and died in A. H. 565. He was succeeded by his son (6) Sayfu'd-Dín Ghází, who took Syria from his cousin al-Malik aṣ-Ṣálih, but lost it to the Egyptians in A. H. 571, and died in A. H. 576. He was succeeded by (7) his brother ['Izzu'd-Dín] Mas'úd b. Mawdúd, who reigned for 13 years and died in A. H. 589. After him reigned his son (8) Arslánsháh (505), who [had many contests with the House of Ayyúb, and died in A. H. 607. He was succeeded by (9) his son Mas'úd, known as *Malik-i-Qáhir*, who died in A. H. 615. He was succeeded

1) This MS. has Intumúz (انتوموز), others اغر (Aghur) or اغو (Aghu).

2) MS. Núru'd-Dín.

3) This MS. has Bízába, but Búzába is the usual form.

4) MS. 522, an evident error, as shown by Ibnu'l-Athír, who was himself the *protégé* of this family, the *Jahán-ará* and Ibn Khallikán.

5) A. H. 569 is the date given by the three authorities cited in the last note.

by his son (10) Núru'd-Dín Arslán-sháh] <sup>1)</sup> who was only a child, and whose kingdom was administered by (11) Badru'd-Dín Lúlú, who ruled for 58 years, died in A. H. 659, and was succeeded by his son (12) al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, who was killed by the Mongols, into whose hands his kingdom then passed.

## 2. *The Atábeks of Fárs.*

The first of these was (1) Sunqur b. Mawdúd, whom some assert to have been the son of Salghar b. Āqsunqur, and others of Zangí b. Āqsunqur, the founder of the Atábeks of Diyár Bakr, who, to avenge his uncle Bízába, killed in battle by Sultán Mas'úd the Seljúq in A. H. 543, revolted during the reigns of this king and of his nephew Muḥammad b. Maḥmúd and made himself king of Fárs, where he reigned 13 years, and died in A. H. 556. The Masjid-i-Jámi' of Shíráz was built by him, and also a rest-house (*ribát*).

He was succeeded by his brother (2) Zangí b. Mawdúd, who had first, however, to drive out two rival claimants, after which he was recognized as Atábek of Fárs by the reigning Seljúq, Arslán b. Ṭughril. He reigned 14 years, repaired and endowed the mausoleum of the celebrated saint Shaykh Abú 'Abdi'lláh [b.] Khafif<sup>2)</sup>, and died in A. H. 570 (MS. '60 erroneously).

He was succeeded by his son (3) Takla, who reigned 20 years and died (506) in A. H. 590.

He was succeeded by (4) Ṭughril b. Sunqur b. Mawdúd, whose rule was, however, contested by his cousin Sa'd b. Zangí, and in this fratricidal war Fárs was devastated by plague and famine. In A. H. 599, after a reign of 9 years, Ṭughril was overcome and taken captive by (5) Sa'd b. Zangí, whose reign opened with a period of fearful famine, followed by plague. After gradually restoring the country

1) The words in brackets, omitted in this MS., are supplied from others.

2) For his biography see Jámí's *Nafahátu'l-Uns*, pp. 262—4.

to prosperity, he added Kirmán to his dominions and pacified Shabánkára. In A. H. 613 he prepared to attack 'Iráq, but was taken prisoner by the troops of Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh, and had to purchase his liberty by making over to the conqueror two-thirds of the revenues of Fárs. On his return, his son Abú Bakr refused to let him enter Shíráz, and in the fight which ensued he was wounded in the eye by an arrow. (507) But the people of the city brought him in secretly by night, and he cast his son Abú Bakr into prison. When Sultán Jalálu'd-Dín Khwárazmsháh passed through Fárs on his return from India, he interceded for, and obtained the release of Abú Bakr. Sa'd died in A. H. 628 after a reign of 28 years.

He was succeeded by his son (6) Abú Bakr b. Sa'd b. Zangí, who proved a wise, just and magnanimous sovereign, and a generous patron of learned and pious men. His chief noble was Muqarrabu'd-Dín Abu'l-Mafákhir Mas'úd. Abú Bakr added to his dominions Kísh, Baḥrayn, Qaṭíf and Laḥsá (or al-Aḥsá). Public buildings erected by him (508). His endowment of the mausoleum of Abú 'Abdi'llah [b.] Khaffí<sup>1</sup>). He died in A. H. 658 after a reign of 30 years.

He was succeeded by his son (7) Sa'd II, who died twelve days after his father, and was in turn succeeded by his son (8) Muḥammad, who was but a child, and whose nominal reign (for the actual conduct of affairs was in the hands of his mother Turkán Khátún) lasted only two years and seven months, for he died in the last month of A. H. 660.

He was succeeded by (9) Muḥammad Sháh b. Salghursháh b. Sa'd b. Zangí, who reigned only 8 months, when he was overthrown and put to death by Turkán Khátún on Ramaḍán 10, A. H. 661.

He was succeeded by his brother (10) Seljúqsháh b. Sal-

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1) For his biography see Jámí's *Nafahátu'l-Uns*, pp. 262—4.

ghursháh, who defeated and slew Turkán Khátún. Her brother, ‘Alá’u’d-Dawla, sought help from Húlágú Khán (509), against whose troops Shíráz was gallantly defended by Muqarrabu’d-Dín Mas‘úd. Seljúqsháh was finally killed by the Mongols in Şafar, A. H. 663.

He was succeeded by (11) Abish Khátún, daughter of Sa‘d, II. She reigned for a year over Fárs, after which she was given in marriage to Mangú Tímúr the son of Húlágú Khán, and Fárs passed directly under the control of the Mongols, though Abish continued to be the nominal ruler for nearly 20 years.

*Section 9. — The Isma‘ílís.*

This section is divided into two Discourses, the first treating of the Isma‘ílís of Egypt, Syria and the Maghrib, the second of the Assassins or Isma‘ílís of Alamút.

*First Discourse. The Isma‘ílís of Egypt etc. (Fáṭimids).*

These, fourteen in number, reigned from A. H. 296 until A. H. 556, *i. e.* for 260 years, and are mentioned here because of their connection with the Persian Isma‘ílís commonly known as the Assassins.

(1) *Al-Mahdí.*

(510) According to the author of the *Ta’rikh-i-Jahán-Gushá*, the Sunnís assert that he was descended from ‘Abdu’lláh b. Sálím of Başra, while the people of ‘Iráq trace his descent from ‘Abdu’lláh b. Maymún al-Qaddáḥ, who was one of the propagandists of the Imám Isma‘íl b. Ja‘far aş-Şádiq. On the other hand Abú Ṭálib ‘Alí b. Najíb <sup>1)</sup> al-Bagh-dádí in his *‘Uyúnu’t-Tawárikh* asserts that al-Mahdí was directly descended from the Imám Isma‘íl as follows: [Abú]

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1) Other MSS. have Kházin or Anjab. See p. 2 *supra* (14).

Muḥammad [ʿUbaydu'lláh] al-Mahdí b. ʿAbdu'lláh ar-Raḍí b. Qásim at-Taḳí b. Aḥmad al-Wafí b. Muḥammad al-Waṣí b. Isma'íl, etc., which pedigree would make him the twelfth of the Isma'ílí Imáms and the tenth in direct descent from ʿAlí b. Abí Ṭálib. This Múḥammad, who was the great-great-grandfather of the Mahdí, fled to Ray to escape the persecution of the ʿAbbásid Caliphs, and is buried near there in Muḥammad-ábád. His descendants settled at Qandahár, where the family is well known. The Mahdí declared himself in A. H. 296, and in A. H. 302 overcame the Banú Aghlab (who then ruled in North Africa on behalf of the ʿAbbásid Caliph al-Muqtadir), and possessed himself of their domains. Herein, say the Isma'ílís, was fulfilled the Prophet's saying, "At the beginning of 300 years [*i.e.* of the fourth century of the Flight] the Sun shall arise from its Setting-place" [*Maghrib*]. Al-Mahdí reigned 26 years, and died in A. H. 322 at the age of 62 years. He was 5 years younger than the Imám Mahdí recognized by the rival sect of the Shí'a, the *Ithná ʿashariyya* or "Sect of the Twelve".

(2) *Al-Qá'im bi-amri'lláh.*

Al-Mahdí was succeeded by his son Aḥmad <sup>1)</sup> al-Qá'im, who was defeated by the Sunnís under Abú Yazíd and imprisoned at al-Mahdiyya (in Tunisia). (511) He died in Shawwál, A. H. 334, but his death was concealed until his son could succeed him. He reigned twelve years.

(3) *Al-Manṣúr bi-Quwwati'lláh.*

Isma'íl b. al-Qá'im succeeded his father, defeated and killed Abú Yazíd, reigned 7 years, and died at Mahdiyya in A. H. 341.

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1) Ibnu'l-Athír, Ibn Khallikán and the *Jahán-ará* give his name as Muḥammad, which is probably correct.

(4) *Al-Mu'izz li-Dini'lláh Abú Tamim Ma'add b. Manşúr.*

He succeeded his father, ruled wisely and well, and added Egypt to the Fátimid domains, taking it by stratagem from the 'Abbásid governor Káfúr. In A. H. 362 he began to build Cairo, which he made his capital. He also took the Hijáz, and, after a reign of 24 years, died in A. H. 365.

(5) *Al-'Azíz bi'lláh Abú Manşúr b. al-Mu'izz.*

He succeeded his father and added Syria to his domains, after killing Alptigin, the 'Abbásid governor. He made a Jew governor of Syria, and a Christian governor of Egypt, but later dismissed them in response to the complaints of his Muslim subjects. (512) He reigned 21 years and died in A. H. 386 [MS. 380].

(6) *Al-Hákim bi-amri'lláh Abú 'Alí Manşúr b. 'Azíz.*

He succeeded his father, and made a great show of piety and humility, riding unattended through the streets mounted on an ass, and claiming to hold converse with God like Moses. His rigorous enactments against wine and women did not prevent him conniving at all sorts of vice on the part of his courtiers. Angered at the growing discontent, he lays waste the country. Other eccentricities on his part. Citation from the *Kitáb-i-Istizhár* of the Qádí Aḥmad-i-Dámghání concerning 'Alawí-i-Madaní, whom al-Hákim commissioned (513) to remove the bodies of Abú Bakr and 'Umar from their graves, which impious attempt was miraculously prevented. Al-Hákim's intention of putting to death his sister on a charge of adultery is frustrated by her causing him to be assassinated in A. H. 411 after he had reigned 25 years.

(7) *Aş-Záhir li-i'zázi Dini'lláh <sup>1)</sup> b. al-Hákim.*

He was succeeded by his son, who put to death the in-

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1) So Ibnu'l-Athír. The *Guzida* has *aş-Záhir bi'lláh*.

stigators of his assassination. He reigned 16 years, and died in Cairo (514) in A. H. 427.

(8) *Al-Mustanşir bi'lláh Abú Tamīm Ma'add b. aṣ-Ṣáhir.*

He was only 7 years of age when he succeeded to the throne of his father. His avarice. He reigned 60 years. Rebellion subdued. He had 3 sons, Nizár, Aḥmad and 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd, and originally nominated the first named as his successor, but afterwards set him aside in favour of Aḥmad, to whom he gave the title of al-Musta'li. The allegiance of the Isma'ílís was divided between these two. The celebrated Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ espoused the cause of Nizár, and thereafter carried on the propaganda in his name. Al-Mustanşir died in A. H. 487.

(9) *Al-Musta'li bi'lláh Abn'l-Qásim Aḥmad b. al-Mustanşir.*

(515) He succeeded his father, captured his brother Nizár and his two sons, who endeavoured to escape, at Alexandria, and imprisoned them for life at Cairo. The Franks obtained possession of some of the coasts of Syria. Al-Musta'li reigned 10 years, and died at Cairo at the end of A. H. 497.

(10) *Al-Ámir bi-aḥkámī'lláh Abú 'Alí Maṣṣūr b. al-Musta'li.*

He reigned 27 years, when he was assassinated by some of Nizár's followers, at the age of 40 years, in A. H. 524.

(11) *Al-Ḥáfiz li-Dini'lláh Abú Maymún b. [Abu'l-Qásim b.]<sup>1)</sup> al-Mustanşir.*

He reigned 20 years and died in A. H. 544.

(12) *Aṣ-Ṣáfir Bi'lláh.*

He was the son of *al-Ḥáfiz li-Dini'lláh*. In his reign the

<sup>1)</sup> MS. omits the words in brackets, which are supplied from Ibnu'l-Athfr. For "Abu'l-Qásim" the *Ṣahán-árá* has "Muḥammad".

Franks took Ascalon. He reigned 5 years and was assassinated by his *wázir* ‘Abbás b. Tamím in A. H. 549.

(13) *Al-Fá’iz bi’lláh.*

He was the great-grandson of al-Mustanşir, and was paralytic. (516) He reigned for 3 years and died of epilepsy in A. H. 555 <sup>1)</sup>.

(14) *Al-‘Āḍid li-Dīni’lláh b. al-Fá’iz.*

He succeeded his father. When, in A. H. 554, the Franks prepared to invade Egypt. Al-Fá’iz, filled with alarm, sought protection from the ruler of Syria, who sent al-Malik an-Náşir Şaláhu’d-Dín Yúsuf b. Ayyúb (Saladdin), the governor of Hims (Emessa), to help him. On his approach, the army of the Franks fled. After this a quarrel arose between al-‘Āḍid and his *wázir* Sháwir. Al-‘Āḍid fled for protection to Şaláhu’d-Dín, who put Sháwir to death. In A. H. 556 (or, according to another statement, in A. H. 565) the *khutba* was pronounced in Egypt in the name of the ‘Abbásid Caliph <sup>2)</sup>, and a week afterwards al-‘Āḍid, the last Fátimid Caliph, died, and Şaláhu’d-Dín took possession of Egypt, taking the title of *Sulṭán* (“king”). In A. H. 571 he also took possession of Syria, and expelled therefrom the Atábek Sayfu’d-Dín Ghází Salghurí. In A. H. 585 <sup>3)</sup> he took Jerusalem from the Franks, and affixed an inscription on the Gate. In A. H. 589 <sup>4)</sup> he also took ‘Akká (St. Jean d’Acre). On the decline of the House of Ayyúb, Egypt passed (517) into the hands of slave-dynasties (*Mamlúks*). The author adds that at the time he wrote Náşiru’d-Dín was king there, and was reported to have recognized a scion of the House of ‘Abbás as Caliph

1) So Ibnu’l-Athír. The MS. has 552.

2) Ibnu’l-Athír, Ibn Khallikán and the *Ṣahán-ává* place this event in A. H. 567.

3) A. H. 583 is the date given by most historians.

4) This was the date of Saladdin’s death. ‘Akká was taken in A. H. 583 according to Ibnu’l-Athír.

on condition of himself being recognized as king. But this Caliph is never seen by the people, all communications with him passing through his chamberlain.

*Second Discourse of Chapter IV, Section 9.*

*The Isma'īlīs of Persia, or „Assassins”.*

These were eight in number and reigned for 171 years, *i. e.* from A. H. 483 until A. H. 654. They were as follows.

(1) *Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ.*

His genealogy and alleged descent from the Ḥimyarite kings of Yaman. He was at first a Shī'ī of the Sect of the Twelve, and was chamberlain to Alp Arslán the Seljúq, but was converted to the Sect of the Seven, or Isma'īlīs, by 'Abdu'l-Malik b. 'Aṭṭāsh. His quarrel with the Nizámu'l-Mulk leads to his dismissal from the Court. He goes to Ray, his native place, in A. H. 464, whence in A. H. 471 he proceeds to Syria, and carries on the propaganda for Nizár b. Mustanşir. There he remained several years, during which period he is alleged to have been entrusted by Nizár with the care of one of his sons, whom he brought back with him to Persia. Fearing the vengeance of the Nizámu'l-Mulk, he remained in hiding in Isfahán, in the house of the Ra'ís Abu'l-Faẓl Lunbání, to whom he said one day, "If I had two congenial friends, I would destroy this empire". Abu'l-Faẓl, deeming him mad (518), began to give him medicines appropriate to that distemper. Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ, perceiving this, fled to Ray. He converted to his doctrine sundry warders of castles, such as Ra'ís Muẓaffar of Gird-Kúh, and Ḥusayn of Qá'in, governor of Turshíz. He then went to Qazwín, and in A. H. 483 (a number equivalent to the sum of the numerical values of its component letters) captured the Castle of Alamút, which, being interpreted, means "the Eagle's Nest"

(*Ālūh-āmūt*), of which the governor was Maḥdī-i-ʿAlawī. Description of the stratagem whereby Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ obtained possession of the Castle. It is attacked (519) by Altún Tásh, a slave of Maliksháh, who reduces it to considerable straits, but dies before he has captured it. Rapid progress of the propaganda. Maliksháh sends Arslán Tásh and Qizil-Tásh against the Assassins; who are reinforced by the Dihdár Abú ʿAlí Ardistání with 300 men. Death of Arslán Tásh and assassination of the Nizámu'l-Mulk. Death of Maliksháh at Baghdad shortly afterwards. Civil war between Barkiyáruq and Muḥammad. Further progress of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ's propaganda. His lieutenant, Kiyá Buzurg-umíd, takes the Castle of Lammasar at the end of A. H. 495. (520) Sultán Muḥammad b. Maliksháh undertakes fresh operations against the Assassins, and besieges Alamút for eight years, but dies before he can effect anything. Sultán Sanjar in turn attempted to extirpate the Assassins, but was intimidated by an attempt on his life into abandoning it. Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ's meeting with his former host, Ra'ís Abu'l-Faḡl. Ascetic life of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ. During the 35 years of his rule no one made or drunk wine in his domain. He puts to death his two sons, one for wine-drinking and the other for fornication (521). How the custom arose amongst the Assassins of sending away their wives and daughters in time of stress to some safe place. Only twice during his reign did Ḥasan-i-Sabbāḥ come out of his house. His books and his "Esoteric" (*Bāṭinī*) doctrine. He died on Wednesday the 6th of Rabīʿ ii, A. H. 518, and was succeeded by —

(2) *Kiyá Buzurg-umíd of Rúdbár.*

He, while professing the belief of his predecessor, observed the external forms of the law of Islám. He reigned 14 years, two months and twenty days, and died on the 26th of Jumáda ii, A. H. 532.

(3) *Muḥammad b. Buzurg-umīd.*

He reigned 24 years, 8 months and 7 days, and (522) died on the 3rd of Rabī' i, A. H. 557. His son would have claimed the rank of Imám, but he prevented him.

(4) *Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Buzurg-umīd.*

On his father's death he again claimed to be the Imám, and professed to be the great-grandson of Nizár b. Mustanšir. Explanations of this claim, and pedigree advanced by Ḥasan. He institutes the impious 'Ídu'l-Qiyám, or „Festival of the Resurrection”, on Ramaḍán 17. A. H. 559, and abrogates all outward observances of the Law (523). This Festival marks the commencement of the new era adopted instead of the *hijra* by the Isma'ílīs. Ḥasan is given the title of 'ala Dhikrihi's-Salám (“on his Mention be Peace”), and is called “Lord” by his followers, but by the Muslims of Qazwín “Kúra Kiyá”. His heretical doctrines and antinomianism cause discontent amongst some of his followers, and he is finally killed by a scion of the House of Buwayh, who was his brother-in-law, on the 6th of Rabī' i, A. H. 561, after a reign of 4 years.

(5) *Muḥammad b. Ḥasan 'ala Dhikrihi's-Salám.*

On his accession (524) he put to death his father's murderer and all his relatives, and carried on his father's heretical doctrines and practices. He died after a reign of 46 years on the 10th of Rabī' i, A. H. 607, poisoned, as some assert, by his son and successor.

(6) *Ḥalálu'd-Dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥammad.*

He repudiated the heresies of his father and grandfather, enforced on his followers the observance of the Law of Islám, and was recognized by the Caliph as a Muslim and called “*Naṭw-Musulmán*”. He invites the 'ulamá of Qazwín to inspect

the library of Alamút and burn such books as they consider heretical, and curses his heretical ancestors and predecessors. In A. H. 609 he sent his mother to perform the Pilgrimage, and she was highly honoured by the Caliph, and given precedence over all other princes. Permission was also given for intermarriage between members of Jalálu'd-Dín's family and the nobles of (525) Gílán and other Muslims, and he availed himself of this permission to marry four ladies of Gílán, one of whom, the daughter of the Amír of Kútam <sup>1)</sup>, bore him 'Alá'u'd-Dín, who afterwards succeeded him. Jalálu'd-Dín also made friends with Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Uzbek, the Atábek of Adharbáyján, and joined him in a campaign against Mungulí the ruler of 'Iráq, as a result of which Abhar and Zanján were added to his domains. When Chingíz Khán invaded Persia, Jalálu'd-Dín made his submission and received promises of security. He died in the middle of Ramaḍán, A. H. 518 (some say from dysentery, others by poison administered by his wives and sister) after a reign of 11 1/2 years.

(7) *'Alá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Jalálu'd-Dín.*

He was only nine years old at the time of his father's death and his accession. He abandoned his father's orthodoxy, and reverted to the heretical beliefs and practices of his earlier ancestors. His madness increases the prevailing disorders. (526) Enmity between him and his son Ruknu'd-Dín Khúrsháh. Ḥasan-i-Mázandarání murders 'Alá'u'd-Dín, as he lies drunk at Shír-Kúh, at the end of Shawwál, A. H. 653, after he had reigned 35 years and one month, he being then 45 years of age. Verses on his death by Mawláná Shamsu'd-Dín Ayyúb Ṭá'úsí.

(8) *Ruknu'd-Dín Khursháh b. 'Alá'u'd-Dín.*

To avert from himself the suspicion of parricide, he put

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1) Kútam is the name of a district in Gílán.

to death Ḥasan-i-Mázandarání, his father's murderer, and his sons. He conquered the castles of Shálrúd <sup>1)</sup> in Khalkhál, and put their garrisons to the sword. When he had reigned one year, Húlágú Khán attacked him, and he, knowing the futility of resistance (527), marched out from his castle of Maymún-i-Dizh at the end of Shawwál, A. H. 654, and surrendered. In the course of about a month Húlágú took and destroyed about fifty of the Assassins' strongholds, such as Alamút, Maymún-i-Dizh, Surúsh, Surkha-Dizak, Níra, Bahrám-Dizh, Ahan-Kúh, Zawrán, Táj, Shayharán <sup>2)</sup>, Firdaws, Manşúriyya, etc. Gird-Kúh [and Lammasar] alone held out for a time, and with their fall the power of the Persian Isma'ílís ended. Alamút, their chief stronghold, was built by ad-Dá'í ila'l-Ḥaqq Ḥasan b. Zayd al-Báqirí in the reign of al-Mutawakkil in A. H. 246, and thus endured in all 410 years.

*Section 10. — The Qará-Khitáy rulers of Kirmán.*

These were nine in number, and reigned from A. H. 621 until A. H. 706, in all 86 years.

(1) *Buráq-i-Ḥájib.*

He was one of the *amírs* of the Gúr Khán of Qarákhitáy, and on the conquest of Qarákhitáy by Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh, he entered the service of that king and attained a high rank. When Khamíd-Púr <sup>3)</sup>, Khwárazmsháh's governor of Bukhárá, was killed by the Mongols (528), Buráq joined Sulṭán Ghiyáthu'd-Dín. He fights and kills Shujá' Abu'l-Qásim A'war-i-Zawzaní, the governor of Kirmán, takes Gawáshír, and finally, by treacherous correspondence with the Mongols, Kirmán also. He receives from the Mongols the title of Qutlugh Khán. He reigned 11 years, and (529) died

1) Shálrúd and Sálrúd are the usual MS. readings. Gantin's edition, pp. 512—3.

2) Most of the Paris MSS. have Shimírán, which is probably correct.

3) So in the *Jahán-Gusháy*. Most MSS. of the *Guzida* have Ḥamíd-Búr or -Púr

in A. H. 632, leaving a son named Mubárah-Khwája and four daughters, Súnj Turkán, who married Chaghatáy Khán; Yáqút Turkán, who married the Atábek Quṭbu'd-Dín Maḥmúd Sháh of Yazd; Maryam Turkán, who married Muḥyi'd-Dín Amír Sám, the grandson of the Yazdí Atábek; and Khán Turkán, who married his nephew (her cousin) Quṭbu'd-Dín Táyangú. The latter succeeded Buráq-i-Ḥájib, and reigned over Kirmán for two years.

(2) *Ruknu'd-Dín Mubárah-Khwája b. Buráq.*

He defeated Táyangú, and was named ruler of Kirmán by Ogotáy. He reigned 16 years, and was dismissed in A. H. 650 [MS. 605] by Manggú Khán.

(3) *Quṭbu'd-Dín. Táyangú.*

Four months after his restoration he married Qutlugh Turkán, formerly one of the concubines of Buráq Ḥájib, who guided him with wise councils and bore him several daughters. Ruknu'd-Dín Mubárah-Khwája again began to intrigue to displace his rival, and Táyangú, having got him into his power, put him to death with his own hands in A. H. 651. (530) A pretender appears and impersonates Jalálu'd-Dín Khwárazmsháh, and gathers round him many people, but is killed by Táyangú. Táyangú next surprises and massacres a number of Balúchís (Kúch u Balúch) <sup>1</sup>), who had by their depredations long terrorized the countryside. Táyangú finally died in Ramaḍán, A. H. 655.

(4) *Sultán Ḥajjáj b. Quṭbu'd-Dín.*

He was appointed by Manggú Khán to succeed his father, his mother, Qutlugh Turkán, acting as regent during his minority. She gave her daughter, Pádisháh Khátún, in marriage

<sup>1</sup>) The Kúch (Arabic Qufṣ and Qufs, see Yáqút, *s.v.* قُفْص, قُفْص and قُفْص), are a predatory tribe inhabiting the mountains of Kirmán.

ot Abáqá Khán, thus greatly strengthening her position, and reigned for 15 years. Meanwhile her son grew up, and quarrels arose between her and him. (531) After various intrigues Hajjáj, displaced in his mother's favour, retired to India in A. H. 666 <sup>1)</sup>, and Qutluġh Turkán reigned until A. H. 681, in which year she died at Tabríz, and was buried at Kirmán by her daughter Bíbí Turkán.

(5) *Sultán Jalálu'd-Dín Sırghatmush.*

He reigned for 9 years. His *wazír* Fakhru'l-Mulk Maḥmúd b. Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad Sháh Zawzaní prevented him from continuing on good terms with his sister Pádisháh Khátún (532), in revenge for which she afterwards killed him. She also caused her brother Jalálu'd-Dín to be strangled on Ramaḍán 27. A. H. 693, and gave it out that he had committed suicide.

(6) *Pádisháh Khátún, daughter of Quṭbu'd-Dín.*

She had been married "in the Mongol fashion" to Gay-khátú, who, when he came to the throne, conferred on her the sovereignty of Kirmán. Her verses (specimen cited). (533) She is put to death in A. H. 694 [MS. 664].

(7) *Muḥaffaru'd-Dín Muḥammad Sháh b. Hajjáj.*

He succeeded by command of Gházán Khán in A. H. 695, with the Qáḍí Fakhru'd-Dín Hirawí as his *wazír*. The latter is murdered in consequence of his tyranny, and Kirmán revolts. It is besieged for a year and a half, at the command of Gházán Khán, by the Amírs of 'Iráq and Fárs. (534) The Amírs suggest to Gházán Khán that he should send Sultán Muḥammad Sháh, who was in attendance on him, to receive the submission of the city. (535) He died of drink, after a reign of 8 years, in A. H. 703.

<sup>1)</sup> A. H. 669 in most MSS.

(8) *Qutbu'd-Dín Sháh-Fahán b. Súrghatmush.*

He succeeded his cousin, and reigned a little more than two years and a half. On account of his tyrannies and peculations he was summoned by Uljáytú to his court, and not permitted to return, Malik Náşíru'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Burhán being sent to replace him at Kirmán. Qutbu'd-Dín finally died in retirement at Shíráz, and was buried at Kirmán.

*Section 11. — The Atábeks of Luristán.*

Account of the *Zubdatu't-Tawárikh* as to the derivation of the word *Lur*. (Three explanations given, all very feeble). (536) Another legend as to the semi-diabolic origin of the Lurs in the time of Solomon, the same legend being also told of the Gílakís. Another legend makes the Lurs of semi-Arabian descent. Evidences afforded by their language. (537) Ten Arabic letters (خ، ح، ق، ف، غ، ع، ظ، ط، ص، ش) said not to occur in the Lurí dialect. The Lurs are divided into two branches.

(1) *Lur-i-Buzurg* (Greater Lurs).

The division of the Lurs into "greater" and "lesser" is said to date from about A. H. 300, when a certain Badr ruled over Lur-i-Buzurg and his brother Mañşúr over Lur-i-Kúchak. Badr had a long reign and was succeeded by his grandson Náşíru'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Khalíl b. Badr, who ruled justly, aided by his *wazír* Muḥammad b. Khurshíd. At this time half of Luristán was in the possession of the Shúls. Their chief was Sayfu'd-Dín Mákán Rúzbahání, whose ancestors had been governors of that region since Sásánian times, and whose descendants still hold that position. About A. H. 500 some hundred families of Kurds emigrated from Jabalu's-Summaq into Luristán. Their chief was Abu'l-Ḥasan Faḍlúya, who had a son named 'Alí. How he is wounded by his

enemies (538) but saved by his dog. ‘Alí leaves a son named Muḥammad, who was in the service of the Salgharí Atábeks. He died leaving a son named Abú Ṭáhir, who, by his courage, rose high in Sunqur’s service, subdued Luristán, and became an independent sovereign. He died in A. H. 555 <sup>1)</sup>, leaving 5 sons, Hazárasp, Bahman, ‘Imadu’d-Dín Pahlawán, Nuṣratu’d-Dín Ilwákúsh, and Qizil. (539) Hazárasp succeeded his father, and ruled well and justly, so that more tribes, such as the ‘Aqílís and Háshimís and some two dozen others, whose names are enumerated, migrated into the country from Jabalu’s-Summaq and other places. These ultimately displace the Shúls, who are driven into Fárs, while Hazárasp extends his domain to within four parasangs of Isfahán. His wars with the Atábek Tikla. (540) The title of Atábek is conferred by the Caliph an-Náṣir on Hazárasp. On his death he is succeeded by his son Tikla, who is attacked by the Atábek Sa‘d of Fárs. The Atábek’s army, in spite of its size, is dispersed on the death of their leader Jamálu’d-Dín ‘Umar Lálbá. Three subsequent campaigns of the Salghurí Atábeks against Luristán are equally unfortunate. Tikla b. Hazárasp annexes portions of Lur-i-Kúchak. His country is invaded by the Caliph’s generals Bahá’u’d-Dín Garshásf and ‘Imádu’d-Dín Yúnus, who take captive his brother Qizil and confine him in the Castle of Láhúj (or Lámúj). (541) Tikla kills ‘Imádu’d-Dín and takes captive Bahá’u’d-Dín. In A. H. 655 Tikla joins Húlágú Khán’s attack on Baghdad, but, disgusted at the atrocities committed by the Mongols, withdraws to Luristán, whither he is pursued by them. (542) He finally surrenders to Húlágú on promise of amnesty, but is put to death at Tabríz. His body is conveyed to Luristán by his followers and buried. He was succeeded by Shamsu’d-Dín Alp Arghún, who restored the prosperity of the country, and ruled 15 years. He left two sons, of whom Yúsufsháh was nominated ruler of Lu-

1) This MS. reads A. H. 505, evidently an error.

ristán by Abáqá Khán, (543) who held him in high favour on account of his valour in the campaign against Gílán. On the accession of Aḥmad [Takúdar] and his quarrel with Arghún, Yúsufsháh marched with 2000 horse and 10,000 foot to the help of the former. On his defeat in Khurásán these Lúrs retreated through the desert of Ṭabas towards Naṭanz, but many of them perished of thirst. Arghún sent Yúsufsháh to seek out Shamsu'd-Dín the *Ṣāhib-Díwán*, [who, on Aḥmad's defeat, had fled to Qum and Iṣfahán] and bring him to his court, and Shamsu'd-Dín gave him his daughter in marriage. Later, when Shamsu'd-Dín was put to death, Yúsufsháh returned to Luristán, where he shortly afterwards died (544) in A. H. 680 <sup>1</sup>), leaving two sons, Afrásiyáb and Aḥmad, of whom the former succeeded to the position of Atábek of Luristán. He ruled tyrannically, fined and otherwise maltreated Niẓámu'd-Dín, Jalálu'd-Dín and Ṣadru'd-Dín, who had faithfully served his predecessors as *wazīrs*, and ruined their family, some members of which took refuge at Iṣfahán. Death of Arghún. Báydú, the Mongol governor of Iṣfahán, is killed by Qizil, Salgharsháh and others, who thereupon seized Iṣfahán in the name of Afrásiyáb. The Lurs extend their domains and inflict a defeat on the Mongols (545), who, however, returned to defeat and destroy them. In this battle one Mongol woman is said to have killed ten Lurs. Afrásiyáb was ultimately pardoned by Arghún's successor, Gay Khátú, and confirmed in the government of Luristán, in which position, notwithstanding his tyranny towards his subjects, including his relations (546), he was confirmed by Gházán Khán, who, however, afterwards caused him to be put to death, and appointed his brother Nuṣratu'd-Dín Aḥmad to succeed him. This prince ruled well and wisely, sought to repair the mischief done

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1) This MS. has A. H. 608, an obvious error, since Arghún's accession was in A. H. 680.

by his brother, and put in force the Sacred Law, which, says the author, has been scrupulously observed since his accession until the time of writing, a period of 35 years, so that Luristán became "the envy of Paradise" (547).

(2) *Lur-i-Kúchuk* (Lesser Lurs).

Account of the inhabitants of Luristán, both those who were and those who were not originally Lurs, and enumeration of their tribes. Until A. H. 550 these had no prince of their own, but were subject to the Caliph and his governors of Persian 'Irâq. At this date, Ḥusámu'd-Dín Súhilí, one of the Āq-sarí Turks, a follower of the Seljúqs, was governor of Luristán and part of Khúzistán. (548) Shujá'ú'd-Dín Khurshíd b. Abí Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Khurshíd was the first independent ruler of Lur-i-Kúchuk. He had two sons, Badr and Ḥaydar, of whom the latter was killed during the siege of Dizh-i-Siyáh ("the Black Fortress"). The other, Badr, and his cousin Sayfu'd-Dín Rustam, made war on the Turkish ruler of Bayát <sup>1)</sup>, overcame him, and took his country. Sayfu'd-Dín treacherously compassed the death of Badr, who left four sons, Ḥusámu'd-Dín Khalíl, Badru'd-Dín Mas'úd, Sharafu'd-Dín Tahamtan and Amír 'Alí. Shujá'ú'd-Dín died in A. H. 621 at the age of a hundred. His tomb was regarded as holy by the Lurs on account of his justice. He was succeeded (550) by Sayfu'd-Dín Rustam, who ruled justly and suppressed highway robbery with a strong hand, but was finally killed by 'Alí, a son of the murdered Badr. (551) His brother, Sharafu'd-Dín Abú Bakr succeeded him, and he in turn was succeeded by his brother 'Izzu'd-Dín Garshásf, who was speedily deposed (552) by Ḥusámu'd-Dín Khalíl, and, a year later, murdered by him. War ensues between Ḥusámu'd-Dín and Shihábu'd-Dín Sulaymánsháh, the brother of 'Izzu'd-Dín's widow and the guardian of his infant children. So

<sup>1)</sup> Bayát is the name of a district in or near Khúzistán.

fierce was the feud that in one month 31 battles were fought between them. Sulaymánsháh was at length defeated and retired into Kurdistán, but after some years returned with 60,000 horse and 9000 foot (553) and defeated and slew Ḥusámu'd-Dín Khalíl in the plain of Shápúr-khwást. His body was burned and his head sent to Sulaymánsháh, who expressed regret at his death and composed a quatrain on his fate. This happened in A. H. 640. He was succeeded by his brother Badru'd-Dín Mas'úd, who appealed for help to the Mongols, representing Sulaymánsháh as the *protégé* of the Caliph. He was therefore permitted to accompany Hulágú Khán's expedition, and was present at the sack of Baghdad, after which he begged that Sulaymánsháh might be surrendered to him. Sulaymánsháh was killed, and his family were given to Badru'd-Dín Mas'úd, who took them with him to Luristán, and gave them the choice of remaining there or of returning to Baghdad. (554) Most of them remained in Luristán and married and settled down there. Badru'd-Dín Mas'úd died in A. H. 658. His justice and piety. His sons, Jalálu'd-Dín <sup>1)</sup> Badr and Náşiru'd-Dín 'Umar, dispute with Táju'd-Dín Sháh, the son of Ḥusámu'd-Dín Khalíl, for the crown. They appeal to the Mongol Abáqá Khán, who decides in favour of the last-named, and puts the others to death. Táju'd-Dín reigned 17 years, and was finally put to death by Abáqá Khán in A. H. 677. The power then passed into the hands of Badru'd-Dín Mas'úd's two sons Falaku'd-Dín Ḥasan and 'Izzu'd-Dín Ḥusayn, who reigned jointly for 15 years and extended their authority over Niháwand, Hamadán, Shushtar and Isfahán, and other neighbouring places. (555) The two brothers acted always in concert, and had an army of 17,000 men. Both died in the reign of Gaykhátú in A. H. 692. They were succeeded by Jamálu'd-Dín Khidr, son of Táju'd-Dín Sháh, who was killed by rival competitors

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1) Jamálu'd-Dín in other MSS.

for the throne in A. H. 693 near Khurramábád. With him the family of Ḥusámu'd-Dín Khalíl came to an end. He was succeeded by Ḥusámu'd-Dín 'Umar Beg, who (556) was speedily deposed in favour of Şamşámu'd-Dín Maḥmúd, who was put to death by command of Gházán Khán in A. H. 695. He was succeeded by 'Izzu'd-Dín [Aḥmad, the son of Amír] <sup>1)</sup> Muḥammad, the son of 'Izzu'd-Dín Ḥusayn, the son of Badru'd-Dín Mas'úd, the son of Shujá'u'd-Dín Khurshíd, who was still but a child; and the effective power passed to a large extent into the hands of (557) Badru'd-Dín Mas'úd <sup>2)</sup>, and, after 'Izzu'd-Dín's death, into those of his widow Dawlat Khátún. Thenceforward the power of the dynasty gradually waned and the country passed more and more under the control of Mongol governors. Characteristics of the country of Luristán. Mineral wealth. Fauna and flora. Rivers and principal towns.

*Section 12. — Account of the Mongols, preceded by an Introduction (Matla'), and followed by a Conclusion (Makhlas).*

(558) *Introduction, on the Genealogy of the Mongols.*

The author bases his account on the *Ĵámi'u't-Tawárikh* of his "martyred master" Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, and makes Japhet the ancestor of the Turks and Mongols. Oghúz Khán. Túr. Early mythological history of wolf-parents and the like. Beginning of third century of the Flight (ninth century of the Christian era). (559) The melting of the mountain which bars the egress of the Mongols. The original home of the Mongols and its boundaries. Characteristics and government of the early Mongols. (560—564) Tables of the Mongol tribes, taken from the *Ĵámi'u't-Tawárikh*.

1) The words enclosed in brackets are omitted in many MSS.

2) This Badru'd-Dín Mas'úd was the son of Falaku'd-Dín Ḥasan and the grandson of the Badru'd-Dín Mas'úd mentioned above.

*Makhlaṣ* (Conclusion).

565—571 Tables of the Mongol rulers descended from Chingíz Khán, down to Abú Sa'íd, the author's contemporary.

*Maqṣad. The Mongol rulers of Persia, or Ilkháns.*

These were 14<sup>1)</sup> in number, and had reigned from A. H. 599 until the time of writing (A. H. 730) 130 years, but of this period only 114 years over Persia. Their descent was from Alánquwá of the tribe of Qúrlás [? Birúlás], one of the branches of Qunqurát. The miraculous birth (572) of three male children by a woman of this family in A. H. 375, one of whom, Búzanjar, was the ninth ancestor of (1) Chingíz Khán. Pedigree of Chingíz Khán. He was originally named Temúchín, and was born on Dhu'l-Qa'da 20, A. H. 549 (= Jan. 26, A. D. 1155). Left an orphan at the age of 13, he was abandoned by his tribe, the Nírún, but re-established his supremacy over them at the age of 30. At the age of 40 he allied himself with Úng Khán, chief of the Kará'its. For 8 years these extended their joint authority over the neighbouring tribes, but afterwards quarrelled, and engaged in a strife which left Chingíz Khán supreme. He then took the title of king, and brought under his authority all the Mongols and kindred tribes, and the peoples of Cathay, Khutan, Khazar, Saqsín, Bulghár, Qirghíz, Alán, Tangut and Russia. (573) Convention with Sultán Muhammad Khwárazmsháh. Increased commercial relations between Persia and Mongolia. Treacherous murder of Mongol merchants by 'Ináljúq the governor of Utrár in A. H. 615. Chingíz Khán invades Persia. In A. H. 617 the Mongol Amírs Yama Noyán and Subtáy are sent against Persia, followed by Túlí Khán, Túshí Khán, Chaghatáy Khán, and Ogotáy Khán. The massacres wrought by the Mongols in Persia are unparalleled in history. (574) "If for a thou-

1) MS. "13", which is correct if Qubiláy Khán be omitted from the reckoning.

sand years no other calamity or disaster should befall, and justice and equity should prevail, the world would still not go as it went then". A certain great man who was asked as to the doings of the Mongols, replied: "They came, they slew, they departed and deported". In A. H. 621 they retired for a while. The lands assigned by Chingíz Khán to four of his seven sons. Death of Chingíz Khán in Ramaḍán, A. H. 624 (= Aug.—Sept., A. H. 1227) after a reign of 25 years.

(2) *Ogotáy Qá'án, son of Chingiz Qá'án.*

He was crowned in A. H. 626, two years after his father's death, and reigned 13 years. His clemency and generosity. Further conquests in Cathay in A. H. 627. (575) Final overthrow of Sulṭān Jalálu'd-Dín Khwárazmsháh in A. H. 628. Amír Jintimúr made governor of Persia until A. H. 633, when he was succeeded by Naw-sál, who died in A. H. 637 and was succeeded by Gúrkúz. After 8 years, he was put to death in A. H. 645, and was succeeded by Arghún, who held this position until his death in the reign of Abáqá Khán. Ogotáy died of excessive drinking on the 5th of Jumáda ii, A. H. 639 (= Dec. 11, A. D. 1241) Account of Túshí (who predeceased his father Chingíz by six months) and (576) his son Bátú and his successors. Account of Chaghatáy Qá'án, who predeceased his brother Ogotáy by one year. (577), and of his successors. Account of Túlí Qá'án, who died in A. H. 628 <sup>1)</sup> (578).

(3) *Kuyúk Qá'án, son of Ogotáy Qá'án.*

Between his father's death and his succession, his mother acted as regent for four years. He reigned only about a year, and was succeeded by —

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1) In A. H. 630, according to the *Jámi'u't-Tawárikh* (ed. Blochet, p. 221).

(4) *Mangú Qá'án, son of Tüli Qá'án.*

He was crowned in Rabí<sup>c</sup> i, A. H. 648 (= June, A. D. 1250). He sends his brothers Qubiláy and Húlagú to make further conquests in the East and in the West respectively. 'Idi-qút, king of the Uyghúrs, plans a massacre of Muslims at Besh-Báliq, but is himself put to death. Earthquake in 'Adharbáyján in A. H. 652. (579) Death of Mangú at the beginning of A. H. 657 in a Chinese campaign, after a reign of 9 years, at the age of 48.

(5) *Qubiláy Qá'án.*

He reigned 35 years, and died in A. H. 693 at the age of 83. His capital was Pekin (Khán-báligh, "Cambaluc"). His grandson Timúr Qá'án, who ruled over Cathay, and his successors, and the struggle between Christianity and Islám.

(6) *Húlagú Khán<sup>1)</sup>, son of Tüli, son of Chingiz.*

He was sent to extirpate the Assassins in Persia by his brother Mangú, at the instigation of the Qáđí Shamsu'd-Dín Aḥmad of Qazwín, in A. H. 653. (580) Surrender of Ruknu'd-Dín Khúrsháh, the king of the Assassins, at the end of Shawwál, A. H. 654 (= Nov. 19, A. D. 1256). He is put to death. Húlagú captures and sacks Baghdád, and puts to death al-Musta'ṣim, the last 'Abbásid Caliph, on Şafar 6, A. H. 656 (= Feb. 12, A. D. 1258). 800,000 of the inhabitants of Baghdád are slain. Further advances of the Mongols into Asia Minor and Syria. At Damascus news reaches Húlagú of the death of Mangú, and he turns back, leaving the Amír Kítbúqá to prosecute the campaign. The Egyptians attack and rout the Mongols, and kill Kítbúqá. (581) Death of

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1) Qá'án, Kháqán and Khán are all different forms of the same Mongol title, but it seems best to keep the first for the purely Mongolian rulers and the last for those (of whom Húlagú was the first) to whom was assigned the government of Persia.

Húlágú at Marágha in A. H. 663, after a reign of 9 years, at the age of 48. The *Zij-i-Ilkhání* compiled for Húlágú by Naşíru'd-Dín Túsí, Mu'ayyadu'd-Dín 'Arúdí, Fakhru'd-Dín Akhlátí and Najmu'd-Dín Qazwíní.

(7) *Abáqá Khán, son of Húlágú.*

He was appointed to succeed his father by his uncle Qubiláy Qá'án in Ramaḍán, A. H. 663 (June—July, A. D. 1265). Tarákáy Khátún sends an army against Persia. A battle is fought on Şafar 8, A. H. 664. (582) Abáqá Khán marches on Tiflis. Mas'úd Beg b. Maḥmúd Yalwáj goes to Persia in A. H. 666. Wars of Abáqá Khán with various rivals. Birth of Gházán at the end of Rabí' ii, A. H. 670 (beginning of December, A. D. 1271). Revolt of Tárábí in Bukhárá in A. H. 636<sup>1</sup>). (583) Death of Arghún at Tús on Dhu'l-Hijja 20, A. H. 673. Coalition between a number of the Assassins (*Maláhida*) and a son of Khwárazmsháh against the Mongols. They capture Alamút, but it is retaken and destroyed by Abáqá. — Earthquake at Akhlát and other places. Defeat of Mongols by Bunduqdár's Egyptians at Abulustayn<sup>2</sup>). — Mu'ínu'd-Dín Parwána put to death by Abáqá in A. H. 676. Invasion of Fárs by Nikúdár's army. Defeat of Mongols by Syrians near Hims (Emessa). Death of Abáqá at a banquet given by Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Khwája Bahá'u'd-Dín *Şāhib-Diwan* (584) in A. H. 680 (MS. 688) after a reign of 17 years and 3 months. The above-mentioned Shamsu'd-Dín was his minister and also his father's. — His capacity in administration and financial ability. — Majdu'l-Mulk of Yazd was latterly preferred to him, and hence some suspected that he had poisoned his master Abáqá in revenge. — Death of Prince Manggú Tímúr at Baghdad in A. H. 681.

1) MS. "671", but the author of the *Jahán-Gusháy*, who was contemporary with the event, gives the date adopted in the text (vol. i, pp. 85—90 of the edition in this series).

2) So vocalized in Yáqút's Geographical Dictionary: أَبُوسَيِّدٍ.

(8) *Aḥmad Khán, son of Húlágú.*

He was crowned at Aladáq <sup>1)</sup> in A. H. 681, and appointed as his *wazír* Shamsu'd-Dín the *Ṣáhib-Díwán*, at whose instigation he put Majdu'l-Mulk of Yazd to death on the 20th of Jumáda i, A. H. 681. — Rebellion of Arghún. (585), who defeated Aḥmad at Qazwín in A. H. 683. Aḥmad sacks Dámghán, and Arghún retires to the fortress of Kalát, and afterwards surrenders voluntarily and is imprisoned, though Aḥmad's *amírs* urgently counsel him to kill him. Arghún is rescued from prison by some of his followers, and defeats Aḥmad (586), who is put to death after a reign of 2 years and 2 months. 'Alá'u'd-Dín 'Aṭá-Malik the *Ṣáhib-Díwán*, brother of Shamsu'd-Dín, [author of the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahán-gushá*] and governor of Baghdád and Arabia after the destruction of the last Caliph by Húlágú, died during Aḥmad's reign in A. H. 681.

(9) *Arghún, son of Abáqá.*

On Sha'bán 4, A. H. 683 (= Oct. 16, 1284) Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad Ṣáhib-Díwán was put to death at Ahar by Arghún, on suspicion of having poisoned Abáqá Khán. He had served Arghún's grandfather, father and uncle as premier for a period of 29 years. Verses on his death, which was regarded by some as a judgement on him for having compassed the death of Majdu'l-Mulk of Yazd. (587) His son Hárún was put to death in Jumáda ii, A. H. 685 (= August, 1286). Malik Jalálu'd-Dín Hamadání was then made prime minister, but was put to death on Rajab 15, A. H. 688 (= August 5, 1289), and was succeeded by Sa'du'd-Dawla of Abhar, the Jew. (588) His vigorous administration. Amír Chúbán's first military achievements in A. H. 688 (= 1289). Sa'du'd-Dawla's hostility is aroused against Fakhru'd-Dín

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1) This form alternates in the histories of the period with Aladágh, Alatáq, and Alaṭáq.

Mustawfī <sup>1)</sup> (589), and he causes him to be put to death on Ramaḍān 1, A. H. 689 (= Sept. 7, 1290). Arghún's illness. Sa'ḍu'd-Dawla and others are put to death in Şafar, A. H. 690 (= February, 1291). Arghún died in the following month, after a reign of seven years. Verses on the execution of Khwāja Wajīhu'd-Dīn in A. H. 685.

(10) *Gay-Khátú b. Abáqá.*

Şadru'd-Dīn Aḥmad-i-Khálidí is made prime minister. (590) Gay-Khátú's extravagance and licentiousness. Revolt of the Atábek Afrásiyáb Faḍlúya in Luristán, who was afterwards put to death by Gházán and succeeded by his brother Nuşratu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, who was still Atábek when the author wrote. The attempt to establish paper currency (*cházv*) causes much discontent, which is increased by Gay-Khátú's extravagance and immorality. Baydú rebels (591), defeats Gay-Khátú, and puts him to death in Şafar, A. H. 694 (= January, 1295) after a reign of three years and seven months.

(11) *Baydú b. Targháy b. Húlágú.*

Jamálu'd-Dīn Dastgardání is made prime minister. Revolt of Gházán Khán, aided by the Amír Nawrúz and the late prime minister Aḥmad-i-Khálidí. After fierce struggles they agree that the south of Persia shall be assigned to Gházán and the north to Baydú. The latter violates the compact, and Gházán flies to Khurásán, where, in A. H. 694 (= A. D. 1295) he is persuaded by the Amír Nawrúz to embrace Islám. He subsequently defeats Baydú, whom he puts to death at Tabríz after a reign of eight months.

(12) *Gházán b. Arghún b. Abáqá.*

He succeeded to the throne at the end of A. H. 694

<sup>1)</sup> This Fakhru'd-Dīn was the Author's cousin on the father's side. See p. 485 of the text (= p. 110 *supra*).

(= November, 1295), and, aided by Amír Nawrúz, devoted himself to the restoration of Islám in Persia, the destruction of the idol-temples, and the conversion of his heathen compatriots. (592) Several rebellious Mongol nobles are slain or reduced to submission. Jamálu'd-Dín Dastgardání is again made *wazír*, but is put to death two months later. He is followed by Şadru'd-Dín Aḥmad-i-Khálidí, who checks the evil practices which have grown up in connection with the demands for horses, fodder and the like made by the innumerable *ilchís* or king's messengers. (593) Gházán Khán suspects the Amír Nawrúz of treasonable correspondence with the Sultán of Egypt, and first kills his brothers and sons, and finally, after a struggle in which he is assisted by Malik Fakhru'd-Dín Kart, captures Nawrúz himself near Herát and puts him to death at the end of A. H. 696 (= October, 1297). On the 21th of Rajab, A. H. 697 (= May 4, A. D. 1298) he also put to death his minister Şadru'd-Dín Aḥmad-i-Khálidí, and appointed in his place the author's beloved patron and master, Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh. (594) In A. H. 700 (= 1301—2) Gházán Khán also put to death Ruknu'd-Dín Şá'in, Qáḍí of Simnán, Sayyid Quṭbu'd-Dín Shírází, and Mu'ínu'd-Dín Ghánjí; and at the beginning of A. H. 702 (= end of August, A. D. 1302) he also put to death Nizámu'd-Dín Yaḥyá, son of Wajíhu'd-Dín Zangí. Gházán Khán's three campaigns against Egypt, the first in A. H. 699, in which his troops were victorious, the second in which no resistance was met with, and the third, in A. H. 702, in which Gházán's troops were utterly defeated. Gházán was ill when this evil news arrived, and his illness was aggravated by the rebellion of Prince Alafrank, the son of Gaykhátú, (595) and proved fatal on Shawwál 10, A. H. 703 (= May 16, 1304). He died at Qazwín, after a reign of eight years, at the age of 30, and was buried at Tabríz, being the first of the Mongol kings whose place of burial was known to the public. In his reign was insti-

tuted the new era (still current in the author's time) known as the *Ta'rikh-i-Khānī*, which took as its starting-point Rajab 12, A. H. 701 (= March 13, 1302).

(13) *Uljáytú (Khudá-banda Muḥammad) b. Arghún.*

He was in Khurásán when the news of his brother's death arrived. He was crowned at Tabríz on Dhu'l-Hijja 15, A. H. 703 (= July 19, 1304), being then 23 years of age. (He was born on Dhu'l-Hijja 12, A. H. 680 = March 24, 1282). His reign was the most happy and prosperous of all the Mongol sovereigns. He repressed unbelief, and imposed the *jizya* (poll-tax) on Jews and Christians, besides compelling them to wear distinctive garments. (596) Birth of his son Abú Sa'íd on Wednesday, Dhu'l-Qa'da 8, A. H. 704 (May 29, 1305). In A. H. 705 Sayyid Táju'd-Dín Gúr-surkhí, the agent of Amír Húrqúdáq, was guilty of seditious actions, and was put to death on Shawwál 20 (= May 5, 1306). In the same year certain rebellious Mongol princes and the Amírs of Egypt and Syria submitted. In A. H. 706 Gílán was subdued, and a tax imposed on its silk. In this war Amír Qutlughsháh was killed. Foundation of the cities of Sultániyya (east of Tabríz), Sultánábád (near Mount Bísutún), and Uljáytú Sultánábád near Múghán, by the sea-shore. Death of Uljáytú's wife 'Ildúzmish Khátún in Jumáda i, A. H. 708 (Oct.—Nov., 1308). Submission of Shamsu'd-Dín 'Aq-sunqur, lord of Ḥamá (597), Jamálu'd-Dín Afram, lord of Aleppo, and other *amírs* of Syria in that year. In A. H. 710 differences arose between the ministers Rashídu'd-Dín and Sa'du'd-Dín, and, suspicion of a conspiracy being cast on the latter, he was put to death on Shawwál 10, A. H. 711 (= Feb. 19, 1312) at Baghdád with Amír Násiru'd-Dín Yaḥyá, Khwája Zaynu'd-Dín, Khwája Shihábu'd-Dín Mubáaraksháh, and others. Verses by the author on this event. On Dhu'l-Hijja 3 of the same year Sayyid Táju'd-Dín 'Awjí, a prominent Shí'ite,

was put to death, and Sayyid ‘Imadu’d-Dín ‘Alá’u’l-Mulk was blinded, and (598) Khwája Táju’d-Dín of Tabríz was made *wazír*, on condition that he should obey Rashídu’d-Dín, by whom the author was placed in charge of the district comprising Qazwín, Abhar, Zanján and Tárimayn. In Shawwál, A. H. 712 (= February, 1313) Uljáytú marched into Syria, and reduced the fortress of Raḥba. Some of the Mongol princes invaded and ravaged Khurásán, and Uljáytú sent the Amír Shaykh ‘Alí Qúshjí to avenge this insult. He crossed the Oxus and ravaged Tirmidhí and Transoxiana, and Prince Abú Sa‘íd was appointed governor of Khurásán, with Amír Súnuj as his lieutenant. (599) In A. H. 715 (= A. D. 1315—6) a quarrel arose between the ministers Rashídu’d-Dín and Táju’d-Dín ‘Alísháh, to whom Uljáytú gave joint powers. In the following year (A. H. 716), on Shawwál 1 (= Dec. 17, 1316), Uljáytú died at Sultániyya, after a reign of 12 years and 9 months, being then not quite forty years of age. Verses by the author on his death. A curious (600) ghost-story, attested by many persons, describing how the spirit of a certain Qará-Bahádur, who fell in battle with the heathen, spoke first to his family and afterwards to all the people of his town (Yangí Shahr), first from a corner of his house, and then from a stick set up in the market-place. The spirit-voice is described as like a voice issuing from a jar. (601) After three days it ceased entirely.

(14) *Abú Sa‘íd Bahádur Khán b. Uljáytú.*

On receiving news of his father’s death, Abú Sa‘íd at once left Khurásán, which was immediately seized by Prince Yusúr and Amír Begtút. Abú Sa‘íd was crowned in Şafar, A. H. 717 (= April—May, 1317), being then 12 years of age, and Amír Chúbán at first acted as regent. Fines imposed on Amír Tuqmaq and Qutlughsháh Khátún. (602) Amír Chúbán sends an expedition against Prince Yusúr and Amír

Begtút in Khurásán, and brings them to submission. Renewed quarrels between the ministers Rashídu'd-Dín and 'Alisháh. As a result of intrigues the former was dismissed from his post and sent to Tabríz in disgrace. (603) In the winter Abú Sa'íd went to Baghdad, where, on Dhu'l-Qa'da 20, A. H. 717 (= Jan. 24, 1318) the Amír Súnuj died. In the spring Abú Sa'íd returned to Sultániyya, while Amír Chúbán went to hunt in Ádharbáyján, taking Rashídu'd-Dín with him, in spite of his unwillingness to leave Tabríz. The partisans of his rival 'Alisháh succeeded in poisoning the minds of Sultán Abú Sa'íd and the Amír Chúbán against him, and finally on the 18th of Jumáda i, A. H. 718 (= July 18, 1318) he was put to death, with his son 'Izzu'd-Dín Ibráhím, near Abhar. (604) Overthrow of Amír Zانبúr in Ramaḍán of this year, on account of his opposition to Amír Chúbán, who had made himself very unpopular by his severities. War between Qúrmishí and Chúbán. (605) The latter is extricated from his embarrassments by Táju'd-Dín 'Alisháh. Further mischief wrought in Ádharbáyján by the Amírs Iranchín and Qurmishí, both of whom belonged to the Karáyit tribe of the Mongols. Sultán Abu Sa'íd meets them in battle at Miyána in Rabí' ii, A. H. 719 (= May—June, 1319), and utterly routs and destroys them. It was on account of the Sultán's courage in this battle that he received (606) the title of *Bahádur*. On Rajab 20, A. H. 719 (= Sept. 6, 1319) Amír Chúbán married Sátí Beg, the daughter of 'Uljáytú. Death of Amír Ḥusayn b. Aq-búqá in Muḥarram, A. H. 722 (= Jan.—Feb., 1322). Amír Timúr-tásh, son of Amír Chúbán, governor of Rúm (Asia Minor), revolted, but was reduced to obedience by his father, who put to death his evil counsellors, and brought him to the Sultán, who shortly afterwards reinstated him. Death of the minister 'Alisháh in Jumáda ii, A. H. 724 (= June, 1324) at 'Uján. He was the only minister of the Mongols who died a natural death, and was succeeded by his son

Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad, who was soon, however, displaced by Malik Nuṣratu'd-Dín 'Adil, called Ṣá'in Wazír. (607) In A. H. 725 (= A. D. 1325) Amír Chúbán, passing through Gurjistán, invaded the realms of Uzbek Khán, and devastated them, to avenge the devastation wrought by him when he came to Persia. Dismissal of Ṣá'in Wazír from the position of Grand Wazír. Dimashq-Khwája, son of Chúbán, succeeds him. Amír Chúbán sends his eldest son Ḥasan against Zábul and Kábul to attack Tirma Shírín, whom he defeated. He then ravaged those countries, and defaced the tomb of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna. To this impious act the author ascribes the fall of the family of Chúbán which shortly ensued. (608) The king, alarmed at the growing power of this family, sought an occasion against them, and on Shawwál 5, A. H. 727 (= Aug. 24, 1327) a rumour was put about that Chúbán had been put to death in Khurásán, and an attack was made on the house of his son Dimashq-Khwája, who was killed. Verses by Shamsu'd-Dín of Sáwa on this subject. Chúbán, on receiving this news, put to death Ṣá'in Wazír the ex-minister in revenge at Herát, and marched on 'Iráq. The king hastened from Sulṭániyya to meet him. When Chúbán reached Ray and the king Qazwín, many of the *amírs* who were with Chúbán deserted him and joined the King, whereupon he fled with his women, leaving the bulk of his baggage. At each stage he left behind some of his followers, so that finally, having crossed the desert, he reached Herát with only 17 followers, and there sought shelter from Malik Ghiyáthu'd-Dín [Kart], who, in Muḥarram, A. H. 728 (= Nov.—Dec., 1327), treacherously slew him, together with his son Jaláw Khán and several of his principal followers. But Ghiyáthu'd-Dín [Kart] did not profit by his treachery, for shortly afterwards both he and his son Ḥáfiz died. Tímúr-Tásh, another of Chúbán's sons, fled to the Sulṭán of Egypt, who, fearing his popularity, put him to death in

Shawwāl, A. H. 728 (= August, 1328), and sent his head to Sultān Abú Saʿid. (610) Chúbán's son Ḥasan and his son fled to Khwárazm, where they were honoured by king Uzbek, but soon afterwards Ḥasan was killed in battle, and his son died a natural death. Shaykh Maḥmud, another of Chúbán's sons, who was governor of Gurjistán, was taken prisoner by Abú Saʿid's troops and put to death at Tabríz, and in short the family of Chúbán was practically exterminated. Thereupon Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad, son of the talented but unfortunate Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, the author's master and patron, was made prime minister, jointly with Khwāja ʿAlá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad b. ʿImádu'd-Dín, but six months later all the power was vested in him, (611) while his ex-coadjutor was placed in charge of the finances of the Empire and appointed *wasír* to the governor of Khurásán. Execution of Nárín-Tagháy and Tásh-Timúr at the beginning of Shawwāl, A. H. 729 (= July 29, A. D. 1329). Praises of Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Nizám al-Ḥusaynī al-Yazdí. Verses cited from Zahiru'd-Dín Fáryábí. The author prays for the long life and prosperity of Sultān Abú Saʿid and of his just and accomplished ministers.

[ADDITIONAL CHAPTER, OMITTED IN MOST MSS.  
AND NOT INCLUDED IN THE ORIGINAL.

*Account of the Muṣaffarī Dynasty, which included seven  
rulers, and reigned in Fárs, etc.*

*from A. H. 718—795, a period of 77 years.*

Pp. 613—755.]

Mawláná Muʿinu'd-Dín Yazdí wrote a history of this dynasty, which however, is written in so florid a style (614) and contains so many exaggerations that the writer of this chapter, Maḥmúd Kutbí(?)<sup>1</sup>), having read the *Taʾrikh-i-Guzida*,

<sup>1</sup>) The diacritical points and correct reading of this word are doubtful. See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, p. 82.

determined to enrich its contents with a brief account of the House of Muẓaffar, from the time of its rise to power until its destruction by Tímúr-i-Lang (Tamerlane). (615) The author, who composed this treatise in A. H. 823 (A. D. 1420), describes his qualifications for this task, and asks the indulgence of his readers (616).

(1) *Amír Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad.*

He was the son of al-Muẓaffar, son of al-Manṣúr, son of al-Ḥájj Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín, who was from Khwáf in Khurásán. His ancestors had come thither from Arabia in the time of the Muḥammadan Conquest, and six centuries later, in the time of the Mongol Invasion, they retreated southwards to Yazd. The Ḥájji had three sons, Abú Bakr, Muḥammad and Manṣúr. The two former were attached to the service of the Atábek 'Alá'u'd-Dawla <sup>1)</sup> of Yazd. When Hulágú Khán marched against Baghdád, the Atábek sent Abú Bakr b. al-Ḥájji with 300 horsemen to assist him. After the capture of Baghdád, this Abú Bakr was sent with an army to the Egyptian frontier, and was killed in battle by the Arabs of Khafája. His brother Muḥammad succeeded him as lieutenant to the Atábek of Yazd, until he also died, leaving no issue.

*Manṣúr b. Ḥájji.*

The third brother, Manṣúr, dwelt at the little town of Maybud near Yazd, and assisted his father during his lifetime. He had three sons, Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad, Zaynu'd-Dín 'Alí, and Sharafu'd-Dín Muẓaffar. The first had one son, Amír Badru'd-Dín Abú Bakr, who was the father of Sháh Sulṭán.

*Sharafu'd-Dín Muẓaffar.*

He was the youngest of the three brothers, but the most

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1) MS. 'Alá'u'd-Dín. See the foot-note on p. 118.

virtuous and talented. (617) He dreamed that the sun arose from the house of the Atábek ‘Alá’u’d-Dawla and entered the collar of his robe. When he rose up, the sun broke into several pieces and fell from his skirt. He enquired the interpretation of this dream, and was informed that it portended the passing of the power from the present Atábeks to his family, where it would remain for as many years as the number of the pieces into which the sun had broken. He was entrusted shortly afterwards by the Atábek Yúsuf-Sháh b. ‘Alá’u’d-Dawla with the government of the Maybud district, and succeeded in clearing the mountains there of a band of brigands from Shíráz who had taken up these abode there. Yúsuf-sháh, having killed the ambassadors of Arghún, was obliged to flee from Yazd towards Sístán. Muẓaffar accompanied him, but, an attempt having been made on his life, he left them, and came in A. H. 685 ( = A. D. 1286) to Kirmán, where he was well received by Sultán Jalálu’d-Dín Súrghit-mish Qará-Khitáy (618). After a while he returned to Yazd, and soon afterwards was presented to Arghún, who employed him in his service. Gay-Khátú shewed him even greater favours. The Atábek Afrásiyáb b. Yúsufsháh revolted in Luristán, and Gay-Khátú sent against him an army commanded by Muẓaffar, who, thanks to his influence and local knowledge, succeeded in pacifying the Atábek Afrásiyáb and bringing him back to his allegiance. After the death of Gay-Khátú, in Rabí‘ i, A. H. 694 (= Jan.—Feb. A. D. 1295), Muẓaffar repaired to Gházán’s camp, received all the insignia of authority, and was appointed *Amír-Hazāra*, or chief of a thousand men. (619) In the middle of Jumáda ii, A. H. 700 (= end of February, A. D. 1301) the Amír Mubárizu’d-Dín Muḥammad was born. On the death of Gházán and accession of Uljáytú in A. H. 703 (= A. D. 1303—4), Muẓaffar was assigned, in addition to the district of Maybud, the care of the roads from Ardistán to Kirmánsháh and from Herát and

Merv <sup>1)</sup> to Abarqúh. He also accompanied the Sultán on his campaign against Gílán. At this time the *wazír* Rashídu'd-Dín had a grudge against Muẓaffar, but his deputy, Sayyid Jalálu'd-Dín Káshí, succeeded in effecting a reconciliation. In A. H. 707 (= A. D. 1307—8) Muẓaffar was sent to Yazd and Shíráz, accompanied by his son Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad. In A. H. 711 (= A. D. 1311—12) when Uljáytú marched to Baghdád, Muẓaffar met him at Khániqín. A little later he was charged with the duty of subduing the rebellious Shabán-kára. (620) Shortly after this he fell ill, and, though he rallied after three months, he had a relapse (caused, as was supposed by poison administered by his enemies) and died on Dhu'l-Qa'da 13, A. H. 713 (= March 1, 1314). His body was conveyed to Maybud and buried in a college which he had erected and endowed. He left one son (Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad) and three daughters <sup>2)</sup>. His younger daughter was married to his nephew Badru'd-Dín Abú Bakr, to whom she bore Sháh Sultán. One of his daughters was the mother of Sultán Aḥmad's wife, while the other was the mother of Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Quṭbu'd-Dín Sulaymán-sháh b. Maḥmúd b. Kamál.

*Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad.*

He was only thirteen years of age on the death of his father Muẓaffar. He was brave, orthodox, and a patron of learning, but cruel, bloodthirsty and treacherous. (621) He is despoiled by his rivals. Sharp fight with the Nikúdarís, in which his sister and other women take part. He is confirmed in his father's offices by Uljáytú, with whom he remains for four years. At the beginning of Shawwál, A. H.

1) Here and again on p. 634 of the original (p. 159 *infra*) the MS. has مَروست, perhaps an error for مَرَوْدَشْت, the well-known plain by Persepolis and north of Shíráz.

2) MS. "two", but three are afterwards enumerated.

716 (= Dec. 17, 1316) Uljáytú died, and was succeeded by his son Abú Sa'íd. In A. H. 717 (= A. D. 1317—8) Mubárizu'd-Dín returned to Maybud. (622) Sayyid 'Aḍudu'd-Dín Yazdí repelled. Amír Kay-Khusraw b. Maḥmúd Sháh Injú<sup>1</sup>), a descendant of Khwāja 'Abdu'lláh Anṣarí, whose family had for years ruled the southern coast of Persia, came to Yazd at this juncture, and, propitiated by the gift of a horse, made great friends with Mubárizu'd-Dín. The Atábek Ḥájji Sháh, the last of the Atábeks of Yazd, had a quarrel with the lieutenant of Amír Kaykhusraw and killed him. Thereupon Sultán Abú Sa'íd ordered (623) Mubárizu'd-Dín and Kay-Khusraw to attack Ḥájji Sháh, who, after a great battle, was completely crushed. In Shawwál, A. H. 718 (= Dec., 1318) Mubárizu'd-Dín visited the court and was confirmed in his governments. Soon afterwards the Sístánís, known as Nikúdarís, led by a certain Nawrúz, revolted. Mubárizu'd-Dín, then only 18 years of age, attacked them with only 60 horsemen. A fierce conflict ensued (624), in which Mubárizu'd-Dín was victorious, and pursued the Nikúdarís as far as Báfq, killing many of them, including Nawrúz. The captives and heads of the slain were sent to the Sultán's court, and there was wailing and lamentation in every household of the Nikúdarís, who, however, long continued the struggle, so that it required 13 or 14 years fighting and some 21 battles to reduce them finally to submission.

### *Birth of Sháh Muẓaffar.*

(625) Sháh Sharafu'd-Dín Muẓaffar was born in A. H. 725 (= A. D. 1325). He was brave, pious and virtuous. His mother died while he was still young, and was buried at Kirmán in

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1) MS. has "Muḥammad", here, but further on "Maḥmúd", which is confirmed by the *Jahán-árá* (Brit. Mus., Or. 141, f. 167<sup>a</sup>). 'Injú is a Mongol word denoting Crown lands or Royal estates, and was given to this family as a title because to them was entrusted the charge of these lands.

the college of Jamál-i-‘Umarí which his father had built. In A. H. 729 (= A. D. 1328—9) Amír Mubárizu’d-Dín Muḥammad went to Kirmán to marry Qutluḡ Khán, the daughter of Sultán Quṭbu’d-Dín Sháh Jahán b. Sultán Jalálu’d-Dín Súrghitmish b. Sultán Quṭbu’d-Dín Muḥammad b. Amír Ḥusámu’d-Dín Khamítbúr <sup>1)</sup> Táyangú b. Guldúz-i-Qará-Khitá’í. It happened that she had gone with her father to Shíráz, and thither Mubárizu’d-Dín followed her. His suit was successful, and his bride followed him to Yazd, and he met her at Abarquh. Khwāja Bahá’u’d-Dín b. ‘Izzu’d-Dín was at this time *wazír*.

*Birth of Sháh Shujá’.*

Jalálu’d-Dín Sháh Shujá’ was born on Wednesday, 22 Jumáda ii, A. H. 733 (= March 10, 1333). (626) In A. H. 734 (= A. D. 1333—4) Amír Muḥammad again visited the Camp of Sultán Abú Sa‘íd, accompanied by his son Sháh Muẓaffar, and received from the Sultán the most notable marks of favour. Thereafter Mubárizu’d-Dín visited the Shrine of ‘Alí b. Abí Tálíb.

*Death of Sultán Abú Sa‘íd.*

On the death of Abú Sa‘íd in A. H. 736 (= 1335—6), chaos ensued (627), and pretenders to the throne arose on all sides. The *wazír*, Ghiyáthu’d-Dín Muḥammad b. Rashídu’d-Dín placed Arpá on the throne, but Amír ‘Alí Páshá <sup>2)</sup>, the maternal uncle of the late Sultán, disapproved of this choice, attacked Tabríz, routed Arpá’s troops, and put him and the *wazír* Ghiyáthu’d-Dín to death. In Jumáda i, A. H. 737 (= Dec. 1336) Sháh Quṭbu’d-Dín Maḥmúd was born.

1) In the *Jahán-gushá* this person is repeatedly mentioned under the name of “Khamídbúr”. This MS. of the *Guzída* has “Khamítar”, probably for “Khamítbúr”, a variant of the other form.

2) This, as Mírzá Muḥammad points out, seems to be the earliest recorded use of the title of *Páshá*. That it was borne by this Amír ‘Alí is confirmed by Ibn Taghrí-bardí and the *Jahán-ará*.

*The Amír Abú Isháq Shaykh goes to Yazd.*

Shíráz was ruled by the sons of Maḥmúd Sháh [Injú] (628), of whom the eldest, Amír Jalálu'd-Dín Mas'úd Sháh, was supreme. His youngest brother Jamálu'd-Dín Shaykh Abú Isháq <sup>1)</sup> went to Yazd, and was met at a distance of one parasang from that city by Amír Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad. Thence he went to Kirmán, where he raised an army and returned to Yazd, which he endeavoured, but failed, to capture by stratagem. (629) At the intercession of Shaykh Shihábu'd-Dín 'Alí Bá 'Imrán he retired.

*The Repentance of Amír Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad.*

In A. H. 740 (= A. D. 1339—40) Mubárizu'd-Dín b. Muẓaffar, being then forty years of age, adopted the life of a devotee.

*Amír Pír Ḥusayn comes to Fárs.*

Mubárizu'd-Dín's devout life was interrupted by a summons to join Amír Pír Ḥusayn, who was marching on Shíráz. After some hesitation he consented, and the two met at Iṣṭakhr. On hearing this, Amír Mas'úd Sháh b. Maḥmúd Sháh [Injú], the governor of Shíráz, escaped to Kázárún, whither he was pursued by Mubárizu'd-Dín. (630), who, having put him to flight, returned to lay siege to Shíráz. After a fierce sortie, the defenders were reduced to great straits, and finally capitulated to Amír Pír Ḥusayn, who conferred on Mubárizu'd-Dín the government of Kirmán. Thither he proceeded in the same year (A. H. 740), and took possession of that city without encountering any resistance from its ruler, Malik Quṭbu'd-Dín b. Nāṣiru'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Burhán, who with his father, had ruled there for 35 years. (631) Mubárizu'd-Dín disbanded his army and sent for Sháh Shujá', who arrived a few days later.

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1) Many of the poems of Iḥáfiz are in praise of this prince.

*The army of Khurásán marches on Kirmán.*

On the loss of Kirmán, Malik Quṭbu'd-Dín set out for Khurásán, and asked for help from the king of Herát, who lent him an army of Ghúris under the command of Malik Dá'úd. This army advanced to within four parasangs of Kirmán before Mubárizu'd-Dín was informed of its approach. He thereupon withdrew to Anár on the road to Yazd, and sent news to Amír Pír Husayn. Having collected an army, he marched back to Kirmán to attack the invaders, while Sháh Muẓaffar and Sháh Sulṭán aided him to the utmost of their power (632) The Khurásánís were driven back into the city, while Mubárizu'd-Dín alighted in the Mazdakán (?) quarter, subdued all the suburbs, and shortly afterwards routed the Khurásánís. Malik Quṭbu'd-Dín again sought help from Herát. Meanwhile Amír Pír Husayn arrived from Shíráz to help Mubárizu'd-Dín, and the defenders of the city were hard pressed. Many notable men amongst them, such as Khwāja Táju'd-Dín 'Iráqí, came out and made their submission. In Jumáda ii, A. H. 741 (= Nov.—Dec. 1340) the city capitulated, Malik Dá'úd retired to Khurásán, and Mubárizu'd-Dín took possession of Kirmán. In the same year was born Sulṭán 'Imádu'd-Dín Aḥmad.

*(633) Conquest of Bam.*

The strong fortress of Bam was held by Akhí Shujá'ú'd-Dín, who had been appointed its governor in the life-time of Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd, and who had already on several occasions fought and worsted the governors of Kirmán. Mubárizu'd-Dín, anxious to put a stop to his ambitions, despatched against him Qutlugh-sháh, and followed in person. A prolonged siege ensued, but the city was (634) finally captured, after a siege of three or four years. Akhí Shujá'ú'd-Dín was spared at the time, but was afterwards killed.

*War with the Arabs.*

Certain Arabs in Herát, Merv <sup>1)</sup>, Şah̄n-i-Rúdhán, Rafsinján and Shahr-i-Bábak betook themselves to robbery, and Mubárizu'd-Dín with his son Sháh Muẓaffar and his *wazír* Ruknu'd-Dín Maḥmúd b. Rashíd set out to attack them, and inflicted on them a severe defeat. (635) Birth of Sháh Yaḥyá on Sunday, Muḥarram 14, A. H. 744 (= June 8, 1343). His name was determined by an augury drawn from the Qur'án, and the title of Nuṣratu'd-Dín was conferred on him on account of the recent victory over the Arabs.

*Ministry of Khwāja Burhānu'd-Dín.*

This minister, who was the son of Kamálu'd-Dín Abu'l-Ma'álí, claimed descent from the Caliph 'Uthmán. His father, after visiting the two Sacred Cities, came to Yazd, and there founded many mosques, hospitals and colleges. He died in A. H. 738 (= A. D. 1337—8). His son Burhānu'd-Dín then went to Shíráz, and in A. H. 742 (= A. D. 1341—2) was chosen *wazír* by Mubárizu'd-Dín. In A. H. 752 (= A. D. 1351—2) he retired, but when Fárs was added to the Muẓaffarí domains in A. H. 756 (= A. D. 1355) he received the double office of Chief Judge and Grand Wazír.

*Account of Amír Pír Ḥusayn and Amír Shaykh Abú Isháq.*

(636) Attempts made by mischief-makers to sow discord between Amír Pír Ḥusayn and Mubárizu'd-Dín. In A. H. 742 (= A. D. 1341—2) the government of Iṣfahán was given to Amír Shaykh Abú Isháq, who joined Malik Ashraf [b. Tímúr-tásh b. Chúpán] when he marched against 'Iráq and Fárs. Amír Pír Ḥusayn was at Qaşr-i-Zard collecting troops and munitions of war (637). He set out with a large army for

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1) See *supra*, p. 154, *ad calc.* It is probable that "Herát" also is a mistake, and that both the places here referred to, like those following, were in the Kirmán district.

Isfahán, but was deserted by the Qáđí Shamsu'd-Dín Šá'in and Amír Jalálu'd-Dín Ṭayyibsháh, the commander of the Turkmán army, who deserted to Malik Ashraf. Amír Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Salghar urged him to seek help from Mubárizu'd-Dín, but this his suspicions prevented him from doing, and he set out that same night for Tabríz to seek help from his cousin, Amír Shaykh Ḥasan b. Timúrtásh, who, however, cast him into prison. Most of his captains, including Ṣahíru'd-Dín Ibráhím-i-Šawáb, thereupon joined Mubárizu'd-Dín, who thus became possessed of an uncontested domain. (638) In Muḥarram, A. H. 744 (= June, 1343) a battle took place at Ná'in between Malik Ashraf and Sháh Muẓaffar and Sháh Sulṭán. Malik Ashraf was defeated and retired to Sulṭaniyya and Tabríz, where he collected a great army to invade Fárs. He plundered and massacred, and in the valley of Shi'b Bawwán, so celebrated for its natural beauties, he smoked to death some 2000 people who had taken refuge in a cave. (639) Malik Ashraf is recalled to Tabríz. The strong fortress of Sírján capitulates, and agrees to pay a yearly tribute of 100,000 *dinárs*. Khwája Táju'd-Dín 'Iráqí saves himself from death at the hands of Mubárizu'd-Dín by a verse of poetry (640).

*Amír Shaykh Abú Isháq goes to Kirmán.*

On the departure of Malik Ashraf from Fárs, Amír Shaykh's power greatly increased, and he assumed the title of king and struck coins and caused the *khutba* to be read in his name. In Šafar, A. H. 748 (= May—June, 1347) he marched on Kirmán, attacking Sírján on the way, and destroying the town with some 1200 of the inhabitants, but leaving the citadel un-reduced. On reaching Bahrámjird, some 15 parasangs from Kirmán, he ascertained that Mubárizu'd-Dín was awaiting him with a large army, whereupon he retired to Shíráz. (641) On his arrival there he made Amír Ṣahíru'd-Dín Ibráhím-i-Šawáb

his *wazir*, and when he was assassinated shortly afterwards he appointed Sayyid Ghiyáthu'd-Dín 'Alí and Shamsu'd-Dín Şá'in jointly to this post. The latter was soon compelled by the jealousy of the former to retire. He went to Hurmuz and the coast of the Persian Gulf, collected a large following, raided many towns, and finally determined to attack Kirmán, but was defeated and slain by Mubárizu'd-Dín. (642) On hearing this news, Amír Shaykh Abú Isḥaq marched on Kirmán to take vengeance on Mubárizu'd-Dín, but was defeated in a great battle and retired on Shíráz by way of Taft.

*Account of the Hazára.*

Mubárizu'd-Dín, finding the Afgháns settled in the SE. of Persia disobedient and disloyal, distinguished the loyal Jurmá'ís with a special badge, and ordered the Afgháns to be extirpated. (643) Amír Dawlatsháh, the chief of the latter, was put to death with seven other *amírs*.

*Defeat of Mubárizu'd-Dín by the Afgháns* <sup>1</sup>).

Soon after Mubárizu'd-Dín had returned to Kirmán, he heard (644) that the Afgháns and Jurmá'ís had united and were plundering the country. Thereupon he marched against them, and the two forces met in the plain of Kháwun(?) The Afgháns were at first defeated, but returned while Mubárizu'd-Dín's troops were engaged in plundering, and made a fresh attack, in which Mubárizu'd-Dín sustained seven wounds and nearly lost his life. Idolatrous rites and sacrifices of Afgháns, taken from the Mongols, enabled Mubárizu'd-Dín to obtain from the doctors of Islám a declaration that this was a holy war and he a *Ghází* or champion of the faith.

1) I am not sure whether by "Afgháns" or "Awgháns" (اوغانبان) the Author means the people whom we know under this name, but in any case (as appears from pp. 643, l. 5, 649, l. 9, and especially 662, ll. 12—13) he evidently regarded them and the Jurmá'ís as Mongol tribes.

He returned safely to Kirmán, where Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> and the *vazír* Burhānu'd-Dín were awaiting him.

(645) *Faithlessness of Amír Shaykh Abú Ishāq.*

Mubárizu'd-Dín and Amír Shaykh Abú Ishāq had made a treaty, one of the objects of which was to prevent the Afghans from making their way to Shíráz. When, however, the former sent Khwāja Hájji Daylam there, the Afghans had already been received with honour. Abú Ishāq, feeling ashamed, detained them, and sent 5000 men to help Mubárizu'd-Dín, but they had secret instructions to desert to the enemy in the middle of the battle. This treachery became known to Mubárizu'd-Dín, and thereupon Abú Ishāq openly broke with him, and sent 2000 men under Amír Sultánsháh Jándár to help the Afghans, while he himself set out for Yazd, which he entered without fighting, Sháh Muẓaffar being at Kirmán. On hearing this, Sháh Muẓaffar at once marched to Maybud near Yazd, where his sons then were. He proceeded to garrison and fortify the place. Abú Ishāq at once sent troops against him (646) under Muḥammadí and Zawára-i-Iṣfahání, but Sháh Muẓaffar routed them and took 70 of their chief men prisoners. Thereupon Abú Ishāq sent some 20,000 men against Maybud, but these also failed to capture the fortress, and peace was concluded.

*Events in Kirmán.*

Meanwhile Amír Sultánsháh Jándár with his Afghans advanced on Kirmán, but Mubárizu'd-Dín kept them at a distance of four parasangs from the city. When Abú Ishāq returned from Maybud he sent Sayyid Ṣadru'd-Dín to Kirmán to negotiate. Mubárizu'd-Dín complained of (647) Abú Ishāq's faithlessness, but promised, out of compassion for the people, to abandon the war and make no attempt at

retaliation. So peace was concluded, and Sultánsháh returned to Shíráz.

*Account of the Afgháns and Furmá'is.*

Finding no party willing to support them, the Afgháns submitted, and in one day received 1000 robes of honour, while some of their *amírs* attached themselves to the Court at Kirmán. At this juncture Muḥammad Beg, son-in-law of Malik Ashraf, marched against 'Iráq, and asked help from Mubárizu'd-Dín, who set out to follow them when they had nearly reached Iṣfahán, accompanied by some of the Afgháns. Treacherous intentions becoming apparent on their part, Mubárizu'd-Dín slew a great number of those who had accompanied him, and of those who were at Kirmán. Amír Tímúr, one of the bravest captains of Abú Isháq, was also put to death on suspicion of treachery (648).

*Campaign in the Garm-sir.*

Winter being now near at hand, Mubárizu'd-Dín and his son Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, who was then 16 years of age, set out for Jíraft. On arriving there, they found the Afgháns holding the Qal'a-i-Sulaymání. Abú Isháq again violated his promise and allowed the Afgháns at Shíráz to march thither with Amír Sultánsháh Jándár, to collect the taxes from Mukrán, Hurmuz, etc. On arriving near Mubárizu'd-Dín's camp a message reached them from Abú Isháq that he was sending six regiments to reinforce them, and that they should proceed to Kirmán. Amír Sultánsháh communicated this letter to Mubárizu'd-Dín. (649) This was the seventh time that Abú Isháq had violated his promises. Desultory fighting and raiding went on until the spring came and the weather grew hot, when Mubárizu'd-Dín returned to Kirmán, whither he was followed by Sultánsháh, on whom he conferred many favours. As summer advanced they withdrew into the cooler

region. Then the Mongol <sup>1)</sup> officers came and made their submission, and returned to Kirmán. The Nawrúzís, another tribe of Mongols <sup>1)</sup>, had always been loyal and peaceable, and so secured their safety. In A. H. 752 (= A. D. 1351—2) (650) a mosque was built outside the Zarand gate of the old city of Kirmán, and Mawláná ‘Afífu’d-Dín, son of Muḥammad-i-Ya‘qúb, was invited to come from Yazd and open it. Other buildings were erected with money derived from Mubárizu’d-Dín’s estates at Maybud, and in A. H. 755 (= A. D. 1354) Mu‘ínu’d-Dín Yazdí, the author of the original of this chronicle, was appointed professor in one of these colleges named the *Dáru’s-Siyádat*.

*Ministry of Qiwámu’d-Dín.*

In A. H. 750 (= A. D. 1349—50) Qiwámu’d-Dín Muḥammad became *wazír* to Sháh Shujá‘. In A. H. 755 (= A. D. 1354) he was made viceroy. Next year he was *Qā'im-Maqám* of Kirmán, and acted as adviser and instructor to Sháh Shujá‘.

*Abú Isháq again marches on Yazd.*

In A. H. 751 (= A. D. 1350—1) Abú Isháq, with a great army, laid siege to Yazd, whither Sháh Muẓaffar brought his sons from Maybud. (651) A battle takes place, in which several of Abú Isháq’s officers are killed. A siege follows, but finally Abú Isháq has to retire to Shíráz. Grievous famine ensues in Yazd, and many die.

*Conquest of Amír Beg Jakáz.*

When Amír Beg Jakáz deserted the cause of Malik Ashraf, he came to Abú Isháq and was made commander of his army. After the retreat of Abú Isháq from Yazd, he was sent with Amír Kayqubád b. Kay-Khusraw in command of an army

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<sup>1)</sup> *i. e.* the Awgháns or Afgháns, whom the author regards as a tribe of Mongols. See *supra*, p. 161, *ad calc.*

against Kirmán. Mubárizu'd-Dín, on hearing this, made a treaty for mutual defence with the Afgháns and Jurmá'ís (652), for each side had lost some 800 men in the recent wars, and so reconciliation was possible without dishonour. He also summoned Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> from Kirmán and Sháh Muẓaffar from Yazd, and they foregathered at Rafsinján. Mubárizu'd-Dín and Amír Beg Jakáz met at Panj Angusht in Jumáda i, A. H. 753 (= June—July, 1352), and, after a fierce battle, Amír Beg's force was utterly routed and retired to Shíráz, while rich spoils fell into the hands of the victors, including a harp encrusted with jewels belonging to the Amír Kayqubád, the price of which enabled Mubárizu'd-Dín to equip and train 70 horsemen.

(653) *Conquest of Shíráz by Mubárizu'd-Dín.*

Mubárizu'd-Dín now decided to march on Shíráz, and first moved to Bam, where he received from Murtaḍá A<sup>c</sup>ẓam Shamsu'd-Dín 'Alí of Bam a sacred relic to which his future good fortune is ascribed, namely a hair of the Prophet, which was afterwards deposited in the *Dárn's-Siyádat* of Kirmán. (654) Mubárizu'd-Dín then proceeded to Ríqán, where he nominated Jalálu'd-Dín Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> his successor. Abú Isháq, hearing of the approaching attack, consulted the nobles and <sup>'</sup>*ulamá*. One of the latter, 'Aḍudu'd-Dín 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán al-'Ijí advised him to make peace, and, his advice being accepted, he set out to seek Mubárizu'd-Dín. At Sírján he met Sháh Muẓaffar, who was coming from Yazd, and they proceeded together, coming up with Mubárizu'd-Dín in the plain of Arzúya(?) and Dasht-bard. Mubárizu'd-Dín received al-'Ijí very graciously and assigned him an allowance of 50,000 *dínárs* and 10,000 for his attendants. He also read Ibn Ḥájib's Commentary on the *Mufaṣṣal* with Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>. He also tried to dissuade Mubárizu'd-Dín from continuing his march on Shíráz, but the latter declined, on the ground that Amír Shaykh Abú Isháq

had already violated his promises eight times, and proceeded to Furg and Ṭárim, while al-Tjī went by way of Nayríz to Shabánkára. (655) Mubárizu'd-Dín reached Fárs in Šafar, A. H. 754 (= March, 1353), and Abú Isháq advanced to meet him with an army, but fell back next day on Shíráz, whither he was followed by Mubárizu'd-Dín.

*Capture of the Castle of Sarband.*

Majdu'd-Dín of Sarband surrendered his castle, and was confirmed in the Wardenship of it and of Khafrak, but soon rebelled, whereupon Mubárizu'd-Dín, accompanied by his son Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, attacked and subdued it. Majdu'd-Dín and his elder son went to Shíráz, while his younger son and his followers were captured and put to death. He then returned to lay siege to Shíráz but fell ill for a time, while Sháh Muẓaffar was also taken seriously ill, and (656), notwithstanding all that the physicians could do, died in Jumáda ii, A. H. 754 (= July, 1353) and was buried at Maybud in the Muẓaffariyya College. He was 28 years and a half in age when he died, and left four sons, Sháh Yahyá, Sháh Manṣúr, Sháh Husayn and Sháh 'Alí, and two daughters.

*Capture of the Red Castle (Qal'a-i-Surkh).*

Shortly after this, Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> set out to capture the Red Castle situated 4 Parasangs from Shíráz, which was occupied by some of Abú Isháq's troops. It was reduced, and the spoils were divided by Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> amongst his troops. Meanwhile Mubárizu'd-Dín, in spite of his illness, continued to prosecute the siege of Shíráz. On Friday, 6th of Rabí<sup>c</sup> i, A. H. 754 (= April 11, 1353) Hájji Qiwámu'd-Dín Ḥasan, one of the chief men of Fárs (657), died, to the great grief of Abú Isháq <sup>1)</sup>. His son narrates to the author of this history

1) Iḥáfiẓ has a *qiṭ'a* on this event, giving the date as above, except that the month is given as Rabí<sup>c</sup> ii, not Rabí<sup>c</sup> i. See Rosenzweig-Schwannau's edition of the *Díwán*, vol. iii, p. 304.

how he went, on the third day after Qiwámu'd-Dín's death, to see Abú Isháq, who lamented the time he had spent in studying astrology, and the mistakes into which it had led him, and recited verses on its futility. (658) Abú Isháq aroused the hostility of the Shírázís by putting to death Sayyid Amír Hájji Darráb and Hájji Shamsu'd-Dín. Finally in the month of Ramaḍán [A. H. 754 = October, 1353] Ra'ís 'Umar, son of 'Alá'u'd-Dín, caused the Múrdistán gate to be left open, and Mubárizu'd-Dín and his troops entered the town on Shawwál 3 (= Nov. 1, 1353), and Abú Isháq, with some of his followers, fled to Shúlistán, and thence to the White Castle (*Qal'at-i-Sapíd*), noted since Sásánian times for its strength. He then demanded help from Amír Shaykh Ḥasan, governor of Baghdad, who sent his son Amír 'Aq-búqá by way of Shúshtar to help him. (659) On hearing that Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> was advancing against them, however, 'Aq-búqá returned to Baghdad, while Abú Isháq fled to Iṣfahán. Mubárizu'd-Dín conferred the government of Kirmán on Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, and handed over to him 'Alí Sahl, the ten-year-old son of Abú Isháq, Amir Beg Jakáz, and Kulú Fakhru'd-Dín. The second was drowned in the Kirmán river, the last was put to death at Kirmán, and the child was murdered near Rafsinján, though it was pretended that he had died a natural death. His grave is now regarded as a holy place, and a supernatural light is said to shine over it at times. (660) <sup>1)</sup> Mubárizu'd-Dín's good government of Fárs, encouragement of learning and repression of dissipation. Quatrain on this composed by Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>. In A. H. 755 (= A. D. 1354) Mubárizu'd-Dín set out to conquer 'Iráq, accompanied by Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> and the Afghán, Arab and Jurmá'í levies. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> left Kirmán in the month of Rabí<sup>c</sup> i (= April), but at Shahr-i-Bábak he was deserted by the Afgháns and Jurmá'ís. After he had joined his father, news

1) A blank space left here in the MS. seems to indicate a missing title.

reached them that Amír Ay-Tímúr, commander of Abú Isháq's army, had gone to Shúlistán, joined Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Manşúr, governor of the Shúl, and intended to seize Shíráz. Thereupon Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> set out for Shúlistán, but, finding no trace of them there, carried off all their cattle. The rebels had gone to Kázarún, whence they doubled back on Shíráz and effected an entry by the Kázarún gate. Sháh Sultán, Mubárizu'd-Dín's governor of Shíráz (661), was completely taken by surprise, and fled to Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>. The invaders set fire to the quarter of Múrdistán, which was most loyal to Mubárizu'd-Dín. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> hastened back to the town, which he entered by the Iştakhr gate, and gallantly attacked the rebels. Ay-Tímúr was killed by an arrow, and his forces routed, and afterwards another force of Shúls and other disaffected nomads was routed by Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> at the Kázarún gate. (662) Complete security restored in Shíráz by Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>. Verses on this <sup>1)</sup>. Another attempt made by Imádu'd-Dín Maḥmúd and Amír Salgharsháh, the nephew of Amír Shaykh Abú Isháq, to overthrow the Muẓaffarí rule in Fárs. These collected an army at Dárábjird, and invited the Afghán Mongols <sup>2)</sup> to join them. They were promptly attacked by Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, who put them to flight. (663), and then returned to Shíráz. At this time Majdu'd-Dín surrendered the strong castle of Quhandiz [or Fahandir] to Sháh Sultán, and also Amír Shaykh Abú Isháq's treasures, which were stored up there. He was pardoned by Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> for his rebellion, and these treasures were given to him.

*Mubárizu'd-Dín swears allegiance to the Caliph  
and besieges Isfahán.*

Mubárizu'd-Dín occupied the Castle of Márdánán [or Marwá-

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1) A blank space here seems to indicate a missing title.

2) See foot-note on p. 161 *supra*.

nán] near Isfahán, the defenders of which, notwithstanding their numbers, refused to come out to fight him. In A.H. 755 (= A.D. 1354), having sworn allegiance to the ‘Abbásid Caliph al-Mu‘taḍid <sup>1)</sup> Bi’lláh Abú Bakr, he restored the Caliph’s name in the *khuṭba* (from which it had been omitted ever since the Mongol invasion) throughout ‘Iráq, exactly 100 years after the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols. Tradition cited *à propos* of this. (664) Meanwhile Amír Shaykh Abú Isháq was trying by every means to recover his dominions. He pardoned Sulṭánsháh, whom he had held prisoner at Ṭabarak for some time, and, relying on his loyalty, sent him to rally the Afgháns and Jurmá’ís; but Sulṭánsháh made his way to Luristán and thence to Shíráz, where he joined Sháh Shujá‘. As winter drew on, the siege of Isfahán was raised, but in the spring the task of subduing it was entrusted by Mubárizu’d-Dín to Sháh Shujá‘. When the army had encamped at the gates of Isfahán, Sayyid Jalálu’d-Dín Mír-Mírán, governor of that place, hid himself. (665) A few days later news came that Abú Isháq, with the Atábek Núráward b. Sulaymánsháh b. Aḥmad, had gathered an army in Luristán. Sháh Shujá‘ decided that he must first disperse this, and so marched to Kandamán and thence to Fírúzán. Mubárizu’d-Dín also came hither with lightning speed. Thereupon the Atábek returned into Luristán, while Abú Isháq went to Shúshtar, Sháh Shujá‘ returned to lay siege to Isfahán, and Mubárizu’d-Dín encamped at Márwánán to bar the return of the enemy. Soon afterwards Jalálu’d-Dín Mír-Mírán made his submission to Sháh Shujá‘, who returned to Shíráz.

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1) The MS. here has wrongly “al-Muqtaṣid”. Ibn Taghrí-bardí in his *An-júmn’-Záhira fí Mulúki Miṣr wa’l-Qáhira* records under the year A. H. 754 the death of the Caliph al-Ilákim bi’amri’lláh Abū’l-‘Abbás Aḥmad. As he had not nominated his successor, a meeting of the nobles and judges was held, and they elected Abú Bakr b. al-Mustakfí bi’lláh Abi’r-Rabí‘ Sulaymán, and swore allegiance to him under the title of al-Mu‘taḍid. See also as-Suyúṭi’s *Ta’rikhu’l-Khulafá*, Cairo ed., p. 201.

*Conquest of Shabánkára.*

Description of Shabánkára, its strong fortress, its mills, its gardens, and its general prosperity. (666) Its ruler was at this time Malik Ardashír, who defied Mubárizu'd-Dín, and collected an army to resist him. Mubárizu'd-Dín sent his son Maḥmúd to deal with this rebellion. He subdued the place, and Ardashír fled.

*Revolt and subjugation of the Hazára-i-Shádí.*

The Hazára-i-Shádí had been well treated by Mubárizu'd-Dín, who had given them lands in fief, but they forgot these favours and rebelled towards the end of A. H. 756 (= January, 1355), in spite of the warnings of Amír Mubárahsháh (667) whom they plundered and drove away to Shíráz. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> marched against them, defeated them, and killed their leader, Amír Búqá, and many others of their chief men.

*Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> goes to Kirmán to extirpate the Afgháns and Furmá'is.*

These tribes were settled in this region in the time of Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>'s great-grandfather Jalálu'd-Dín Súrghatmish to protect it. In course of time they waxed prosperous and multiplied. Sultán Sháh Jahán took a wife from amongst them and of that union was born Qutlugh, called "the Mother of Kings" (*Ummu's-Saláṭín*). When Mubárizu'd-Dín conquered Kirmán in A. H. 742 (= A. D. 1341—2) he (668) greatly honoured and strengthened this tribe. Yet nevertheless from time to time they rebelled, as has been mentioned. In A. H. 754 (= A. D. 1353), when Kirmán was bestowed on Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, he showed them fresh favour, yet in A. H. 755 (= A. D. 1354), when he set out to join his father at Shíráz, they revolted at Shahr-i-Bábak. On hearing now that Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> was advancing against them, they retired to the mountains, and, being hard pressed, again craved and obtained forgive-

ness. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> entered Kirmán on Rajab 8, A. H. 757 (= July 7, 1356), and at this juncture his wife, the sister of Amír Súrghatmish-i-Afghání, and the mother of the princes Sultán Uways, Sultán Shiblí, and Sultán Jahángír, and of Sultán Pádisháh the wife of Sháh Yahyá, died. Two years earlier he had married another wife (669), and the marriage was consummated on Sha<sup>c</sup>bán 12. Two robbers, Maḥmúd Tímúr and an Arab of Shahr-i-Bábak, were captured and put to death.

*Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> again marches on Isfahán.*

At the end of Sha<sup>c</sup>bán, Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> left Kirmán. On the 2nd of Ramaḍán he reached Rafsinján, and on Tuesday the 9th he reached Yazd, where he remained three days, and then met his father Mubárizu'd-Dín outside Ná'in. A few days later news arrived that Amír Shaykh Abú Isháq had collected an army of the Hazára-i-Shádí at Jarbádhaqán (Gulpáyagán), and Mubárizu'd-Dín, leaving Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> there (670), set out to attack them, but they dispersed the day before his arrival, leaving many of their stores and possessions. Meanwhile Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> encamped at Fírúzán, one stage from Isfahán, whence he moved near to the Bágh-i-Karán, which adjoined the city wall. Several sorties were made by the inhabitants, in one of which the Amír Kay-Ká'ús showed great valour, and many of the Isfahánís were taken prisoner. Mubárizu'd-Dín, leaving Sháh Sultán to conduct the siege, returned to Shíráz.

*Conquest of Luristán.*

The Atábek Núr-áward, whose ancestors had ruled Luristán for generations, was from the first inclined to dispute Mubárizu'd-Dín's supremacy, and he and his kinsman Kayúmarth b. Takla wished to give their support to Amír Shaykh Abú Isháq. Mubárizu'd-Dín was anxious, on account of family connections, to avoid a conflict with them, but when (671)

Núr-áward allied himself with Abú Isháq, placed all his resources at his disposal, and marched on Işfahán, so that no doubt remained as to his hostility, Mubárizu'd-Dín was very angry. He sent Náşiru'd-Dín Khunjí, Amír Kamálu'd-Dín Husayn Rashídí, Khwája Ruknu'd-Dín 'Amídu'l-Mulk and Khwája Şadru'd-Dín Anarí to remonstrate with them, but without effect. In the year A. H. 756 (= A. D. 1355) when Mubárizu'd-Dín encamped outside Işfahán, the Atábek Núr-áward sent the Qádí Quţbu'd-Dín, the chief judge of Luristán, as an ambassador to him. In Muḥarram, A. H. 757 (Jan. 1356) it was decided to invade Luristán. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> joined his father, and the expedition started, in spite of the intense cold. When they reached Bahbahán, however, the weather turned warmer. At this juncture news arrived that Kayúmarth, Shaykh 'Isá the Kurd, and other chiefs, were advancing with an army of 10,000 horse and foot. Thereupon Mubárizu'd-Dín (672) prepared for battle, entrusting the right wing to Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> and the left wing to Sháh Maḥmúd, while he himself took command of the centre, in company with his grandson Sháh Yaḥyá. In the battle which ensued Kayúmarth was killed and his army defeated. Next day the survivors, including the Atábek Shamsu'd-Dín Pashang b. Salgharsháh b. Aḥmad b. Yúsufsháh b. Shamsu'd-Dín Alp-Arghún b. Hazárasp b. Abú Ṭáhir b. Muḥammad b. 'Alí b. Abu'l-Ḥasan Faḍlú'í, and 'Alá'u'd-Dín 'Aṭá, Táju'd-Dín Takín-Tásh, Siráju'd-Dín 'Umar Lál-pá, and the other chiefs came to make their submission, and were well received. On reaching Idaj <sup>1)</sup>, the capital of Luristán, news arrived that Núr-áward had occupied the strong fortress of Súsan. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> set out to attack him, whereupon he retreated to another fortress. Mubárizu'd-Dín, having practically subdued Luristán, conferred the government of it on the Atábek Shamsu'd-Dín Pashang, the cousin and son-in-law of Núr-áward, whom he

1) The modern Mál-Amír, one of the chief Bakhtiyarí centres.

soon succeeded in capturing and deprived of his eye-sight. Mubárizu'd-Dín, returning homewards from 'Idaj, celebrated his victory by a great hunt in the plain of Rakhshábád (673).

*Conquest of Isfahán and capture of Shaykh Abú Isháq.*

While the campaign in Luristán was in progress, Sháh Sulṭán was vigorously besieging Isfahán, whither Shaykh Abú Isháq had returned. Sayyid Jalálu'd-Dín Mír-mírán took part in the defence, and the siege dragged on through the hard winter until the spring, when many of the garrison came out and joined Sháh Sulṭán's forces, to the great discouragement of Shaykh Abú Isháq and his ally Jalálu'd-Dín, which was presently increased by the treacherous surrender of the fortress of Ṭabarak to Sháh Sulṭán by its warden. (674) Seeing the discouragement of the besieged, Sayyid Jalálu'd-Dín, abandoning his wife and family, escaped from the city with one attendant and fled to Káshán. Shaykh Abú Isháq, unable to get out of the city, took refuge in the house of Mawláná Niẓámu'd-Dín Aṣíl, the Shaykhu'l-Islám of 'Iráq. Finally his whereabouts was discovered, and he was brought to the Castle of Ṭabarak, news of his capture being sent to Amír Mubárizu'd-Dín, who ordered him to be sent to Shíráz. In the *maydán* of that city he was brought before Mubárizu'd-Dín, who was surrounded by all the *ʿulamá*, judges and nobles of Fárs, and there he was put to death by Amír Quṭbu'd-Dín, the youngest son of Sayyid Amír Ḥájji Ḍarráb, whom he had formerly slain. (675) Two quatrains recited by him at his death <sup>1)</sup>.

1) The poet Ḥáfiz has many poems on Shaykh Abú Isháq, amongst others the following on his death, of which he gives the date as 21 Jumáda i, A. H. 757 (= May 22, A. D. 1356): —

بروز کاف و الف انر جمادے الاول \* بسال ذال دگر نون و زی علی الاطلاق  
خدا یگان سلاطین مشرق و مغرب \* خدیو کشور لطف و کرم باستحقاق  
سبهر علم و حیا آفتاب جاه و جلال \* جمال دُئی و دین شاه شیخ ابو احتقاق  
میان عرصة میدان خور بتیغ عدم \* نهاد بر دل احباب خویش داغ فراق

*Rebellion of the Afgháns and Jurmá'ís.*

In the year A.H. 757, when Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> set out for Shíráz on his way to Luristán, he was accompanied by a number of *amírs* and soldiers of the Afgháns and Jurmá'ís. Amír 'Alí Malik, who had hitherto been loyal, was appointed to go to Rúdbár. Soon after his arrival there he had a quarrel with Ṭaqtáy as to a certain pasture, as a result of which Ṭaqtáy was slain, and 'Alí Malik obtained possession of an undisputed territory. He took captive Amír 'Izzu'd-Dín, chief of the Jurmá'ís, but could not kill his brother Shamsu'd-Dín, who was in attendance on Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>. He sent 'Izzu'd-Dín in chains to Kirmán, but on the way thither he escaped, unknown to his custodians, and took refuge with his tribe, where he gathered round him a number of men who bore resentment against 'Alí Malik, marched against him, and killed him. When news of this reached Amír Mubárizu'd-Dín, he wished to march at once and take vengeance (676), but, being engaged in a campaign against Ādharbáyján, he was compelled to postpone his intention for a year.

*The Subjugation of Tabriz.*

In Muḥarram, A. H. 758 (January, 1357) Mubárizu'd-Dín, having overcome all his rivals and occupied Fárs and 'Iráq, set out for Iṣfahán with a large army. Near that city he was met by all the notables and chiefs, who escorted him to the palace, where he received the homage of Sháh Sulṭán, who expected, but did not receive, much favour for his service, for the Minister Khwája Burhānu'd-Dín had accused him of embezzling a sum of 700 *túmáns* from the revenues of 'Iráq. This caused a certain estrangement, in spite of which Sháh Sulṭán gave a great banquet, at which, however, Mubárizu'd-Dín, who was violent, passionate and ill-natured, behaved with great rudeness. (677) This increased the enmity already existing between the uncle and nephew. At

this juncture an ambassador arrived from Jání Beg Khán b. Uzbek Khán with 300 horsemen, bringing the news that the Khán had come to Tabríz, killed Malik Ashraf, and assumed supreme authority; and that he now summoned Mubárizu'd-Dín to his presence to perform the duties of *Yasáwul*, or Marshal, incumbent on him as formerly on his father. Mubárizu'd-Dín replied in harsh terms, and entrusted the entertainment of the ambassadors to Sháh Sulţán, whose anger was further increased by this new and unexpected burden. After they had departed, news arrived that Jání Beg had fallen sick and had returned to his own tribe (*ulús*), leaving Akhí Júq in Tabríz. This news decided Mubárizu'd-Dín to undertake the conquest of Adharbáyján. Then news came by successive messengers that Jání Beg was dead, and had been succeeded by his son Bardí Beg, who had thereupon put his brothers to death. Mubárizu'd-Dín forthwith began his preparations, selected 12,000 men from the armies of 'Iráq and Fárs, and set out for Tabríz. Amír Akhí Júq, being informed of this, came out from Tabríz to meet him with 30,000 horsemen. (678) The two armies met at Miyána. Mubárizu'd-Dín entrusted the right wing to Sháh Shujá', the left to Sháh Maḥmúd, and himself took command of the centre, having Sháh Yaḥyá with him. He ordered his soldiers to fire three arrows each and then charge. Kamálu'd-Dín Luṭfu'lláh, son of Şadru'd-Dín 'Iráqí, produced the sword of Khálid b. Walíd" "the Sword of God", and recited the prayer engraved upon it three times, and one of the arrows fired struck down the enemy's standard-bearer. Akhí Júq's right wing broke Mubárizu'd-Dín's left wing and threatened to encircle his centre, but Mubárizu'd-Dín and Sháh Yaḥyá fought with such valour that Amír Akhí Júq's army was completely routed, and its leaders mostly slain or taken captive, and Mubárizu'd-Dín's sons pursued them to Nakhjuwán, where they feasted for three days. (679) Mubá-

rizu'd-Dín was greatly incensed at this, reprimanded them, and honoured only Sháh Yahyá, who had remained with him and had fought with great valour. On the Friday he himself ascended the pulpit and delivered a homily. News arrived that an army was advancing on Tabríz from Baghdád, and Mubárizu'd-Dín decided to withdraw. On the march he was continually threatening punishments to his sons and others, and they, being alarmed, laid the matter before Sháh Sulţán, who, having already a grudge against Mubárizu'd-Dín, incited them to seize their father, telling them that he certainly intended to blind them and exclude them from the succession in favour of his youngest and favourite son, whose mother was Badí'u'l-Jamál. (680) They therefore agreed together on reaching Işfahán to seize and bind their father Mubárizu'd-Dín. They arrived there on Tuesday in the middle of Ramađán, A. H. 759 (= Aug. 21, 1358). On the following Thursday at midnight Sháh Sulţán came with one attendant to Sháh Shujá's house and announced that he would flee, as it was said that Mubárizu'd-Dín was acquainted with the plot, and that if so he would certainly kill all the conspirators. It was therefore agreed that before sunrise next day they should put their plans into execution. Sháh Sulţán then proceeded to Sháh Maḥmúd, who was in the bath, and gave him the same information, whereupon he at once mounted and came to the house of his father Mubárizu'd-Dín, who was busy reading the *Qur'án*. Sháh Maḥmúd waited outside in the porch, while Sháh Shujá and Sháh Sulţán stood at the door of the room in which Mubárizu'd-Dín was, and sent five or six men in to seize him. He, on seeing them, understood what was intended, and sought for his sword, but it was not at hand. The conspirators, therefore, were able to seize and bind him. At the same time Sháh Sulţán went and killed Khwája Burhānu'd-Dín. That night they conveyed Mubárizu'd-Dín to the Castle

of Ṭabarak and blinded him <sup>1</sup>). (681) Reflections of the author on the vicissitudes of Fortune. Mubárizu'd-Dín is conveyed from Ṭabarak to Qal'a-i-Isfíd ("the White Castle") in Fárs. After a month or two he told the warden of the castle that he had not wholly lost his sight, and persuaded him (682) to befriend him. Finally, after much correspondence, an understanding was arrived at between Mubárizu'd-Dín and his sons. The former was permitted to come to Shíráz and to have with him Badí'u'l-Jamál and his youngest son Sultán Báyzíd, together with his body-servants, while the government was to be carried on in his name and with his approval. When he had been for two or three months at Shíráz, he made a plot with some of his adherents to seize and kill Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> when he came to see him. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, being informed of this, ordered his accomplices to be put to death, and himself to be transferred to the Castle of Tabar in the Garmsír, or hot region, of Fárs. Then he fell ill, and was removed in consequence to the Castle of Bam, where he died at the end of Rabí<sup>c</sup> i, A. H. 765 (= beginning of January, 1364), at the age of 65, having reigned 40 years, 22 years in Yazd, 13 years in Kírmán, and 5 years over 'Iráq and Fárs.

*Ṭalálu'd-Dín Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> b. Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar  
b. al-Manṣúr b. Hájji Khusrawí [? Khurásání].*

(683) Praise of this Prince's virtues and talents. He began his studies at the age of seven, and in A. H. 742 (= A. D. 1341—2), when only nine years of age, he had learned the *Qur'án* by heart. His studious character and love of learned men. His excellent memory. Specimens of his Arabic (684) and Persian verse. His valour and skill in arms. On his

<sup>1</sup>) Háfiz refers to this event in a fine *qif'a* which will be found on pp. 230—232 of Rosenzweig-Schwannau's edition, vol. iii. It begins: —

دل منه بر دُنی و اسباب او ز آنکه از وی کس و فاداری نداد

succession to the throne he bestowed Persian 'Iráq and Abarqúh on Sháh Maḥmúd and Kirmán on Sulṭán Aḥmad, and made Khwája Qiwámu'd-Dín Muḥammad his Prime Minister. At the beginning of Muḥarram, A. H. 760 (= Dec. 3, 1358) he set out for Kirmán to chastise the rebellious Afgháns and Jurmá'ís. Thence he proceeded to Bam, Jíraft and (685) Manúján. He defeats the Afgháns and kills a great number of them. The Afgháns rally and again give battle, but after a fierce fight, in which Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> himself took part, sue for peace. They did not, however, observe the truce, and permission was given to plunder their possessions. (686) The Afgháns then got Khwája Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad to intercede for them, and by means of the Shaykhu'l-Islám Şadru'd-Dín 'Abdu'l-<sup>c</sup>Azíz, a descendent of Burhánu'l-Aqtáb Shaykh Shihábu'd-Dín Túráyashtí, succeeded in obtaining forgiveness from Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> by promising obedience in the future. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> then returned to Shíráz. Shortly afterwards his brother Sháh Maḥmúd rebelled against him, attacked and took Yazd, placed Khwája Bahá'u'd-Dín Qúrfí there as governor, and himself marched to Iṣfahán.

*Sháh Yahyá is sent to Yazd.*

At this time Sháh Yahyá, Sháh Muẓaffar's son and Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>'s nephew was imprisoned in the Castle of Quhandiz [MS. "Fahandir"], but he succeeded, with the help of confederates, in seizing the governor and taking possession of the castle. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> sent an army to besiege him. (687) Finally a truce was concluded, on condition that Sháh Yahyá should evacuate the castle and retire to Yazd, but, though treated with honour by Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, he continued at Yazd to intrigue against him. Verses of Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> on this subject. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> marches towards Yazd, and sends Khwája Qiwámu'd-Dín Muḥammad thither from Abarqúh, where he himself remains. A rumour is started that

one of Qiwámu'd-Dín's intimates named 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán Kúnbání was intending to assassinate him, and Qiwámu'd-Dín, without investigating the matter, immediately caused (688) 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán to be put to death. Yazd was soon reduced to great straits, and Sháh Yaḥyá was obliged to submit to his uncle Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, who accepted his excuses. Text of the fresh agreement concluded between the uncle and nephew. (689) Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> then returned to his capital, ordering his army to raise the siege of Yazd. Soon afterwards he set out for Qaṣr-i-Zard, because Sháh Mahmúd threatened rebellion. The *wazír* [Qiwámu'd-Dín] was accused by his enviers of being disloyal, and was arrested, fined, and ultimately put to death with torture in the middle of Dhu'l-Qa<sup>c</sup>da, A. H. 764. His place was taken by Khwája Kamálu'd-Dín Rashídí.

*The Conflict between Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> and Sháh Mahmúd.*

Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> now marched on Iṣfahán against his brother Sháh Maḥmúd, and besieged him there for one or two months. Daily skirmishes took place, and one day Sháh Maḥmúd succeeded (690) in decoying Sháh Sultán and a number of the besiegers into an ambush in the suburban lanes (*kúcha-bágh-há*), and in taking Sháh Sultán captive and killing his younger brother Amír Mubáriz. Sháh Sultán was blinded by his foes, as he had formerly blinded the late king Mubárizu'd-Dín. Quatrain by Ṣadru'd-Dín 'Iráqí on this subject. After this defeat Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> retired to Shíráz, and Sháh Maḥmúd began to seek support and alliance from Sultán Uways at Tabríz. Simultaneously with Mu'ínu'd-Dín's second mission to Iṣfahán, Amír Mubárah-sháh Aynágh came from Tabríz to Iṣfahán to endeavour to create trouble (691) and to induce Sháh Maḥmúd to revolt. Reinforcements arrived from Tabríz led by Amír Shaykh 'Alí Aynágh, Amír Sátí Bahádur, Mubárahsháh Dúlí, and sundry Amírs, like Ghiyáthu'd-Dín

Shúl, Şalghur-sháh Turkmán, etc., and Sháh Yahyá as well as Sháh Maḥmúd joined them. The combined army marched out of Işfahán in A. H. 765 (= A. D. 1363—4), and Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> advanced to meet them from Shíráz, entrusting his right wing to his youngest brother Sultán Aḥmad, and his left wing to his eldest son Sultán Uways. Sultán Aḥmad, angered at not being admitted to the Council of War held by Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> and his *amírs*, deserted in the night to Sháh Maḥmúd, and many of the soldiers followed his example. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, however, undeterred by these defections, gave battle near Khwánsár. (692) When night fell the battle was still undecided. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> fell back on Shíráz, while the opposing army scattered, many of the leaders retreating swiftly to distant places, *e. g.* Sayyid Humámu'd-Dín to Işfahán, the son of Amír Shaykh 'Alí Aynágh to Káshán, and Sháh Yahyá to Yazd, while Sháh Maḥmúd and Amír Shaykh 'Alí reached Işfahán by different routes, and decided to take no further action until they should learn what had befallen the army of Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>. News reached them that Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> had retreated to Shíráz. In passing by the Band-i-Amír he had confided the fortress there to one of his *Amírs*, who being inexperienced and timorous, surrendered that strong place to the enemy as soon as they summoned him to do so. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, meanwhile, having remained a few days in Shíráz to re-equip his army, marched back to seek revenge, but was attacked by a pain in the foot which compelled him to return. Now there was a certain Dawlatsháh who had been the faithful servant of the unfortunate Qiwámu'd-Dín, and who had been imprisoned for a few days at the time of his master's execution, but was afterwards released and taken into favour (693). This man had been sent by Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> to Kirmán to bring money to Shíráz for the payment of the army. On reaching Sírján he met Sultán Shiblí and Amír Súrghatmish, who were advancing to Shíráz with reinforce-

ments for Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, and persuaded them and [Badru'd-Dín] Hilál, Sultán Shiblí's guardian (*Atábek*) to return with him to Kirmán. There he seduced many of the *Amírs* and nobles from their allegiance; put to death Amír Hájji the Master of the Horse (*Mir-ákhúr*), who was governor of Kirmán on behalf of Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, and Sultán Shiblí's *Atábek*, Badru'd-Dín Hilál; imprisoned Sultán Shiblí in the Qal'a-i-Kúh; and assumed the supreme power. (694) When news of these events reached Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> he was greatly discouraged, and at this juncture Sháh Maḥmúd's army arrived before Shíráz and daily skirmishes took place. Finally Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> decided to send his son Sultán Uways to seek Amír Súrghatmish (who was believed to be still loyal) in the Garmsír and to march with him against Kirmán to subdue Dawlatsháh; but they could effect nothing. Meanwhile the siege of Shíráz dragged on, until finally Sháh Maḥmúd sent a message to his brother Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> to say that the "foreign" *Amírs* from Baghdád prevented him from concluding any peaceful agreement, but that if Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> would retire to Abarqúh for a while until he could induce these *Amírs* to disperse, a satisfactory agreement could be concluded, and a fair partition of the country effected between them. (695) Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> consents. Text of his reply to his brother. They meet at the castle of Quhandiz [MS. Fahandir], and Sháh Maḥmud agrees to restore the Castle of Sar-i-Band-i Amír to Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, so that he could go that way to Abarqúh. His wife, Khátún-i-<sup>c</sup>Uzmá, and youngest son, Sultán Zaynu'l-<sup>c</sup>Abidín, (696) with Amír Ikhtiyáru'd-Dín Ḥasan Qúrchí, however, took the road by Shúlístán, while Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> himself went by Qaṣr-i-Zard, wherein he acted wisely, as he thereby evaded a party of the hostile *Amírs* from Tabríz who had intended to intercept him. His governor at Abarqúh, Jalálu'd-Dín Túránsháh, received him most loyally, and they agreed to march on Kirmán and endeavour to overthrow the usurper Dawlatsháh.

They set out in the month of Isfandarmudh, A. H. 765, with a small army equalling in numbers the army of the Prophet at the Battle of Badr (*i. e.* 313). Dawlatsháh came out to meet them with an army of 4000 men. An Arab *Amír* named Maḥmúd brought this news to Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, who immediately set out from Shahr-i-Bábak for Sírján. The two armies met towards sun-down; Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, in spite of the smallness of his force, attacked valourously (697), and was completely victorious, capturing abundant spoils and putting Dawlatsháh to rout. Next day he advanced to Kirmán, and on reaching Sháhábád, one parasang from the city, found that Dawlatsháh had closed the city gates and was preparing to withstand a siege. Finally, however, he was induced by Amír Ramaḍán Akhtájí to surrender, on condition of pardon for his offences, this promise being guaranteed by the *wazír* Khwája Túránsháh. Next day Dawlatsháh came out, accompanied by his nobles, and received presents and robes of honour. Shortly afterwards, however, Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, being informed that Dawlatsháh meditated a fresh act of treachery and even an attempt at assassination, (698) put him to death. Sulṭán Uways and Amír Súrghatmish were, on the other hand, honoured and rewarded. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> soon afterwards set out to try to recapture Shíráz, and received reinforcements and adhesions at Nayríz and other places on his way, but, being deserted by the Afghán and Jurmá'í contingents, and sickness also having attacked him, he was compelled to return to Kirmán.

*Campaign in the Garmsír.*

Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> next marched into the Garmsír to subdue the Afgháns, who retreated to mountain fastnesses, issuing forth to fight whenever an opportunity presented itself. (699) The campaign was fruitful of hardship to the besiegers, and the Afgháns asked for help from Sháh Maḥmúd, while Sháh Yaḥyá and some of the *Amírs* came to help Súrghatmish.

Sháh Yahyá sought to be reconciled to his uncle Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>. Text of the letter written by the latter to the former in response to these overtures. (700). Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, being again attacked by pain in the foot and other complaints, retired two or three stages. His antagonists, deeming him afraid, prepared to attack him, whereupon he turned back, fell upon them unawares, and defeated them. Most of them submitted, including Amír Súrghatmish, who, with Dá'úd-i-Ghúrí, had taken refuge in the Qal'a-i-Sulaymání. Dá'úd, however, escaped to Shíráz. Sháh Yahyá set out from Shíráz with an army for Yazd, followed by Mubárahsháh Aynágh. A battle took place between them at Khirama (701), and they turned back. Sháh Yahyá sent from Yazd to demand the elder daughter of Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> in marriage. The request was granted and the marriage concluded. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> then set out to subdue Fárs. At Chahár Gunbad Sháh Manşúr b. Sháh Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar came from Yazd to do allegiance to his uncle, who treated him with much honour. From Shahr-i-Bábak Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> turned back to Shíráz, and Sháh Maḥmúd came to meet him. Pahlawán Khurram advanced from Mashhad to support Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, fell in with Sháh Maḥmúd's army, and was almost defeated when Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> and his army arrived on the scene (702), and Sháh Maḥmúd suffered a severe defeat, two hundred of his best horsemen being drowned in a river which they attempted to cross in their flight.

### *Conquest of Shíráz.*

Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> then returned to Shíráz. At Púl Basá he was again attacked by Sháh Maḥmúd on Saturday, 16th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A. H. 767 (= July 25, 1366) and a great battle took place. The people of Shíráz agreed to open the gates to Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, and on Sunday, 24th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, Sháh Maḥmúd retreated towards 'Iráq. Sulṭán 'Imádu'd-Dín Aḥmad

left him and made his submission to Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, who once again ruled in Fárs, (703) and again frequented the assemblies of the learned. Thus he attended the lectures of Mawláná Qiwámu'd-Dín Faqíh Najm and began to study the *Uṣúl* of Ibn Hájib with the commentary of Mawláná 'Aḍudu'd-Dín 'Abdu'lláh. He appointed as Chief Qáḍí "the Sháfi'í of the Age" Mawláná Bahá'u'd-Dín 'Uthmán Kúh-gelú'í and made Quṭbu'd-Dín Sulaymán-sháh b. Khwája Maḥmúd Grand Wazír. He also sent Mawláná Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Kíní to Mecca to build a rest-house for pilgrims and buy a plot of ground for a tomb for himself, giving him 200,000 *dinárs* for this purpose. Both the tomb and the rest-house are still in existence. Arabic verse composed by Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> for the latter. In the year A. H. 770 (= A. D. 1368—9) he swore allegiance to the Caliph al-Qáhir bi'lláh Muḥammad b. Abí Bakr al-'Abbásí <sup>1)</sup>. After he had established himself in Fárs, in A. H. 768 (= A. D. 1366—7) he (704) marched on Iṣfahán. Sháh Maḥmúd sent messengers with conciliatory letters to him, peace was concluded, and he retired. Some while afterwards Sháh Maḥmúd's wife, Khán Sultán, the daughter of Amír Kay-Khusraw b. Sháh Maḥmúd-i-Injú, wrote to Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> offering, if he passed through 'Iráq, to surrender Iṣfahán and hand over her husband, Sháh Maḥmúd, bound to his brother. She added that he should lose no time, as a large army was expected shortly from Tabríz, conveying the daughter of Sultán Uways. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> thereupon again set out for Iṣfahán and encamped outside the city. Sháh Maḥmúd sent a deputation of the leading citizens to wait on his brother and try to conciliate him, offering complete submission to

1) There is no evidence of the existence amongst the puppet-Caliphs of Cairo of any one bearing this name and title. According to as-Suyúṭí's *Ta'ríkhu'l-Khulafá* (Cairo ed., pp. 202—3) the titular Caliph at this period was al-Mutawakkil 'ala'lláh Abú 'Abdi'lláh Muḥammad b. al-Mu'taḍid, who was chosen Caliph in A. H. 763 and deposed in favour of al-Wáthiq bi'lláh in A. H. 785 (= A. D. 1361—1384).

his commands. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, seeing his brother's humility (705), agreed to meet him, and concluded a fresh agreement with him, after which he again returned to Shíráz. In the same year he arrested and imprisoned Khwája Quṭbu'd-Dín Sulaymán-Sháh, and blinded his son Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Maḥmúd, and sent him a prisoner to Kirmán. Quṭbu'd-Dín Sulaymán-Sháh escaped from prison, went to Iṣfahán, and was made *wazír* by Sháh Maḥmúd. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> made Sháh Ḥasan the son of Sháh Maḥmúd Sayyid Mu'ínu'd-Dín Ashraf of Yazd his *wazír*. Sháh Maḥmúd's wife, Khán Sulṭán, always filled with the desire of avenging the death of her uncle Amír Shaykh [Abú Isháq] and her other relatives, continued to plot for the destruction of the Muẓaffarís, and therefore kept urging Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> to subjugate 'Iráq, and also endeavoured to pass off as her own child the baby son of one of her waiting women. These matters were finally brought to the knowledge of her husband Sháh Maḥmúd, who, having satisfied himself of their truth, ordered her to be strangled. At this juncture the daughter of Sulṭán Uways came with a great army from Tabríz to 'Iráq to reinforce him. He then again advanced against Fárs, and Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> collected an army and came out to meet him. (706) The two armies met at Chásht-khwár. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> entrusted the right wing to Sulṭán Aḥmad and the left to Sháh Maṣṣúr, himself taking the centre. A fierce battle ensued and lasted all day. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> withdrew to Shíráz, but Sháh Maṣṣúr with the left wing achieved a partial victory, and entered Shíráz laden with spoil.

*Sháh Ḥasan is killed and Túránsháh becomes Wazír.*

At this juncture Sháh Ḥasan showed to Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> a letter purporting to be written by Khwája Jalálu'd-Dín Túránsháh and Humámu'd-Dín Maḥmúd, (707) wherein they offered him their allegiance and promised to open the city gates to him if he advanced. On the back of this letter

Sháh Maḥmúd had written that he would come that very week. Summoned before Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> to give account of this matter, the two accused persons declared that the letter was not in their writing, and that they had no knowledge of it. It happened that Sháh Ḥasan was laid up with pain in the foot. Amír Ikhtiyáru'd-Dín Ḥasan Qúrchí was sent to ascertain how the letter had come into his hands, and suspicion was aroused that it was a forgery effected by order of Sháh Ḥasan by Khwájá Maḥmúd-i-Ḥájji 'Umar Munshí. Sháh Ḥasan's *wasír* was thereupon seized, tortured and strangled, while Khwájá Jalálu'd-Dín Túránsháh was made *wasír*, a post for which his talents and virtues eminently fitted him. (708) When news of these events reached Sháh Maḥmúd, he at once turned back to Iṣfahán.

*Rebellion of Pahlawán Asad b. Tughánsháh at Kirmán.*

When Amír Maḥmúd, son of Amír Qutbu'd-Dín Sulaymánsháh, was brought to Kirmán, he ingratiated himself with the governor, Pahlawán Asad, who was an old friend of his, and seduced him from his allegiance to Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>. Sháh Yahyá also wrote to him from Yazd and inspired him with ambitions of sovereignty, but the presence of "the Mother of Kings", Khán Qutlugh, in Kirmán restrained him for a time from overt rebellion, until a serious quarrel broke out between the wrestlers and athletes of Kirmán and those of Khurásán, in which Khán Qutlugh espoused the cause of the Kirmánís and Pahlawán Asad that of the Khurásánís. Recriminations and complaints ensued, and Khán Qutlugh retired to Sírján. Thereupon Pahlawán Asad, relieved of her presence, began to strengthen the fortifications. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> refused to believe that he really intended rebellion, and Pahlawán Asad, having put the city in a state of defence, began to raise an army. (709) In spite of the exhortations of Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> to his sons to avoid intestinal quarrels, his

eldest son Sultán Uways joined himself to a tribe of Afgháns and forged a letter in his father's name bidding Pahlawán Asad surrender Kirmán to him, and even began to advance with the tribe on Kirmán. Perceiving, however, that his enterprise was doomed to failure, he left his army and made his way to Iṣfahán to his uncle Sháh Maḥmúd. This increased Pahlawán Asad's boldness, and he proceeded to besiege Lakan, the Warden of Qal'a-i-Kúh, until he surrendered that fortress. He then arrested the agents of *Wálidatn's-Salátín*, forced them by torture to reveal to him the places where her treasures were concealed, and put Khwája Muḥammad 'Ulyá-ábádí in chains (710), taking from him all that he possessed, and finally killing him. He also poisoned Khwája Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad, called *Záhid* ("the Ascetic") and took his property, and in short greatly oppressed the people, so that Kirmán never again regained its former prosperity. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, on learning of these events, sent Farrásh Hájji Bahá'u'd-Dín to Iṣfahán to effect a reconciliation with his brothers. Being assured in this quarter, he marched on Kirmán through the Garmsír by Jíraft and Bam, where he learned from the Warden, Amír Ḥusayn, details of the rebellion and tyranny of Pahlawán Asad. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> then advanced hastily to Máhán and alighted at a place called Sháh-ábád, only one parasang from Kirmán. Here a fierce battle took place. (711) Sháh Maṣṣúr and his uncle Sháh Sultán Abú Yazíd alighted from their horses and valourously endeavoured to fight their way across the bridge by the Darwáza-i-Sa'ádat ("Gate of Happiness") and enter the city, but Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, fearing lest they should be slain, ordered them to retire, and, leaving his brother Sultán 'Imádu'd-Dín Aḥmad to reduce the city by siege, himself returned to Shíráz. Sultán Aḥmad tarried some days at Zarand, where many deserters from the army of Kirmán joined him. Sháh Yaḥyá asked for reinforcements from Khwája 'Alí Mu'ayyad

Sabzawárf, who sent him a hundred horsemen commanded by the Sarbadár Pahlawán (712) Ghiyáth-i-Túní. Being short of money wherewith to pay them, Sháh Yahyá sent them on to Pahlawán Asad, who, fearing further desertions from his force, would not set foot outside the city. Sulţán Aḥmad encamped to the south of Máhán, where he was joined by Amír Muḥammad Jurmá'í and his fellow-Amírs, who had forced their way out of the city. Soon, the siege becoming more rigorous, the city began to suffer severely from lack of provisions. Finally permission was granted for the poorer people to leave the city, but many perished and the rest were scattered. When the siege had lasted eight months, Sulţán Aḥmad was summoned to Shíráz, and the conduct of the siege was entrusted to Pahlawán Khurram, who induced Pahlawán Asad to submit. (713) A meeting between the two took place in the city in the Qaṣr-i-Humáyún, and it was agreed that Pahlawán Asad should send his brother Pahlawán Muḥammad b. Ṭughánsháh and one of his sons to Shíráz as hostages, and should surrender the citadel to the retainers of Sháh Shujá', namely to Pahlawán 'Alí-Sháh Marniyání and a hundred of his men. This siege of Kirmán began on Ramaḍán 20, A. H. 775 (= March 5, 1374), and ended early in Rajab, A. H. 776 (= first part of December, 1374), having lasted nine months and twenty days. Now there was a secret passage from the citadel to the Palace, and Pahlawán 'Alí-Sháh, having corrupted some of Pahlawán Asad's retainers, took advantage of it to send a party of determined men into the Palace to assassinate Pahlawán Asad. This was done on Friday in the middle of Ramaḍán, A. H. 776 (= Feb. 16, 1375), and Pahlawán Asad's head was sent to Shíráz. Sháh Shujá' appointed Amír Ikhtiyáru'd-Dín Ḥasan Qúrchí governor of Kirmán. (714) He, by his justice and clemency, restored the prosperity of Kirmán, and, by his generosity, made it a rallying-point for learned and pious men.

*Death of Sháh Maḥmúd and march of Sháh Shujáʿ  
on Tabríz.*

In the month of Shawwál of this year (March, 1375) news was brought to Sháh Shujáʿ from Tabríz that Sultán Uways was dead; and on Wednesday the 14th of that month (March 18, 1375) news arrived that Sháh Maḥmúd had died on Shawwál 9 (= March 13) and that the two factions in Iṣfahán known as Du-dánga and Chahár-Dánga were fighting, the former wanting Sultán Uways b. Sháh Shujáʿ to be *qá'im-maqám* or Viceroy, and the latter demanding a king. The deceased Sháh Maḥmúd was 38 years, five months and nine days old when he died, and had ruled over ʿIráq for 17 years, and for two years of this period over Fárs also. On hearing this news, Sháh Shujáʿ prepared to set out, and several messengers from Ṭabarak (715) and elsewhere urged him to make all possible haste to Iṣfahán. On approaching that city he was met by Sultán Uways and many of the *Amirs* and nobles of Sháh Maḥmúd, and took possession of Iṣfahán without opposition. Sultán Uways shortly afterwards had a fall from his horse and broke his leg. Sháh Shujáʿ continued his preparations for an advance on Tabríz, and raised an army of 12,000 men. He advanced by way of Jarbádhakán (Gulpáya-gán) and Qazwín. At the former place he received adhesions and reinforcements, but at the latter he met with opposition. He thereupon attacked the city and took it by storm, but restrained his troops from looting, threatening death to any who should offend in this way. He next advanced to Jurmá-khwárán, when Sultán Ḥusayn the son of Sultán Uways opposed his advance with 24,000 horsemen. Sháh Shujáʿ defeated the opposing army, and (716) took captive two of their leaders, ʿAbdu'l-Qáhir and Pahlawán Ḥájji Khar-banda, whom he sent in bonds with an announcement of his victory to Fárs and ʿIráq. He then occupied Tabríz without further difficulty, and sent

Sháh Manşúr with 2000 horsemen to Qará-bágh, Amír Faraj to Nakhjuwán, Amír Işfahán-sháh b. Sulţán Sháh Jándár to Awján, and other *Amírs* to other parts of Adharbáyján.

*Return of Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> to Tabríz.*

When Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> had been at Tabríz for two or three months, two nomad chiefs named Shibli Dá'úd and 'Umar Júbdastí agreed to attack Awján with their followers and overthrow Amír Işfahán-sháh, proclaiming that Sulţán Husayn was at hand with 10,000 horsemen. In this plan they were successful, capturing Işfahán-sháh and scattering or slaying his soldiers, of whom the survivors fled to Tabríz. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, in spite of the snow and the pain in his foot from which he suffered, at once set out in a litter and retreated without halting to Qazwín, where the people again opposed him (717), but he passed on, without concerning himself with them, to Káshán, where he was joined in a few days by Sháh Manşúr and many of the *Amírs* who had been dispersed in different directions, and who contradicted the rumours of Sulţán Husayn's arrival. It was only two months later that he arrived from Baghdád at Tabríz, and, in exchange for the nobles of Tabríz taken captive and afterwards released by Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, sent Amír Işfahán-sháh to 'Iráq. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> gave the daughter of Sulţán Uways <sup>1)</sup> in marriage to his son Sulţán Zaynu'l-'Abidín, appointed him governor of Işfahán, and himself set out for Fárs, accompanied by many of the captains and nobles of 'Iráq. Being angry with Sháh Yahyá because of the help he had given to Pahlawán Asad, he sent an army against him to Yazd, and also composed some very uncomplimentary verses about him (5 couplets given). (718) Sháh Yahyá succeeded in persuading the army investing Yazd to take

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1) *i. e.* Sulţán Uways 'Ilkání of Tabríz, who had recently died, not the homonymous son of Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>.

no action against him until he should have time to communicate with Shíráz and make his submission, but, when they were off their guard, he made a sudden sortie and put them to rout, seizing much spoil. The remnants of the army fled to Shíráz, and Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> then resolved to go in person, to take revenge on Sháh Yaḥyá, but Sháh Manşúr persuaded him to allow him to go instead. Sháh Yaḥyá, realizing that this army would not withdraw until they had made an end of him, sent his mother to intercede for him, and she eventually succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the two brothers. The army, learning this, began to make off in successive bands for Shíráz, leaving only Sháh Manşúr and his immediate followers at Yazd. (719) Sháh Yaḥyá now strove to persuade Sháh Manşúr to go to Má-zandarán and raise an army there to enable them to carry out their joint projects, nor would he allow Sháh Manşúr to enter the city. Finally the latter set out for Má-zandarán, and Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> arrived in person with a large army to punish Sháh Yaḥyá, who again, however, by means of the intercession of the daughter and elder sister of Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> and his youngest son Sulṭán Jahángír, succeeded in pacifying the angry monarch and inducing him to withdraw to Shíráz.

In the year A. H. 780 (= A. D. 1378—9) Sháh Ḥusayn b. Sháh Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar, the younger brother of Sháh Yaḥyá, came to Shíráz, and was well received by his uncle Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> who appointed him deputy (*qá'im-maqám*) of his brother Sháh Manşúr. In A. H. 781 (= A. D. 1379—1380) Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> set out for Sulṭániyya, where a certain Sáriq ʿAdil had gathered together an army and was endeavouring by violence to usurp the supreme power. (720) He suffered a serious reverse; his great army, drawn from Fárs, ʿIráq and Luristán, was scattered, and he himself was thrown from his horse. Surrounded by a few faithful retainers he continued to fight on foot, until Malik Báwarchí, one of

his officers, gave him his own horse. Another officer, Akhí Kúchuk, "the Rustam of the Age", came up and stayed the panic, and presently 10,000 or 15,000 gathered round Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>. One of Sháh Husayn's standards and a set of his kettle-drums were recovered by them, and Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, taking this as a good omen, ordered shouts of victory to be raised. Hearing these, and seeing such trophies in the hands of their foes, Sáriq 'Adil's men were panic-stricken and fled to the city, which was soon afterwards occupied by Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>. Sáriq 'Adil and his captains took refuge in the citadel, and began to sue for peace. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> received their overtures favourably, and a treaty was concluded. (721) Rich presents were given to Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, who then received Sáriq 'Adil with honour, left him in possession of the city, and returned with his army to Shíráz.

About this time several other events took place deserving of mention.

*First*, Sultán Zaynu'l-'Abidín, to whom the government of Isfahán had been entrusted, by reason of his youth and the pride of ignorance neglected his duties to the people. He was therefore dismissed, and Pahlawán Khurram was made governor in his stead. He on his death was succeeded by Pahlawán Muḥammad Zaynu'd-Dín. Ultimately Sultán Zaynu'l-'Abidín, after suffering a brief imprisonment, was restored.

*Secondly*, Sultán Aḥmad, the son of Sultán Uways <sup>1)</sup>, rebelled in Tabríz, killed his brother Sultán Husayn and others of his kinsmen, and usurped control over the province of Ādhar-báyján.

*Thirdly*, Pír 'Alí Bádak, one of the chief nobles of Hamadán, fled to Shíráz, where he was well received by Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> and sent to Shúshtar, which he subdued, appointing a servant named Islám as its governor, and himself proceeding to Baghdád, where he struck coins in the name of

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1) Here again Sultán Uways 'Ilkání of Tabríz is intended.

Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, and caused the *khutba* to be read in his name.

(722) *Fourthly*, Sultán Aḥmad set out from Tabríz for Baghdád. Prince Shaykh ʿAlí and Pír ʿAlí Bádak went with an army to intercept him, but were both killed and their army routed, and Baghdád also fell into Sultán Aḥmad's hands.

*Fifthly*, Sultán Uways, son of Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, sickened and died.

*Sixthly*, Sháh Manşúr, who had been for a while a fugitive in Mázandarán, came to Sultániyya to Sáriq ʿAdil, who, since he claimed to be loyal to Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, arrested and imprisoned him. He was, however, released by some of his adherents, and came to Baghdad, where he was well received by Sultán Aḥmad, of whose sincerity, however, he was suspicious. Islám, the governor of Shúshtar, informed Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> of this, and he sent Pahlawán ʿAlí Sháh Marniyání to Islám's help. The former, as soon as he had established himself, designed to oust the latter, but his plot miscarried, and he himself was killed. In the same year Sultán Aḥmad sent Sháh Manşúr to Shústár, into which he gained admittance by the help of certain friendly Shayklis. He then gradually rid himself of his most powerful opponents, and began to harry the province of Luristán, killing and plundering the people. (723) The Atábek Pashang complained to Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> and begged him to send an army and take Shúshtar. At this juncture an ambassador arrived from Baghdád, and Sultán Aḥmad complained of Sáriq ʿAdil, because he had placed his younger brother, Sultán Báyzíd, on the throne at Sultániyya, and had thus created an estrangement between the brothers. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> answered both ambassadors according to their desires, promising to march on Sultániyya with an army, and, on his return thence, to proceed to Shúshtar by way of Lur-i-Kúchak.

*Sultán Shibli is arrested and blinded.*

Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, on setting out from Shíráz, was accompanied

by his son Sultán Shibli, who generally followed two or three stages behind him. At Baydá he wished to review his army before his father. (724) Certain mischief-makers sought to alarm Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> by misrepresenting the Prince's object, and accusing him of rebellious intentions, asserting that he was secretly in league with Amír Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Salghar-sháh Rashídí. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, recalling the legendary king Firídún's words to his undutiful sons (here given not from the *Sháhnáma*, but in Arabic), was much alarmed, and in the month of Rabí<sup>c</sup> 1, A. H. 785 (= May 1383) arrested both the accused, imprisoning the Amír Salghar-sháh in the citadel, and Sultán Shibli in the castle of Iqlíd. Then one day, being drunk, he ordered Amír Ramaḍán Akhtájí and Khwája Jawhar-i-Kúchak to go to the castle and deprive the Prince of his sight. Next day Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> repented of his action, and sent off a mounted messenger to countermand the cruel order, but he arrived too late, and the king's repentance was vain. This cruel deed, moreover, brought him ill luck, for Khán Qutlugh "the Mother of Kings" died (725), and Sháh Husayn, the brother of Sháh Yahyá and Sháh Manşúr also died on that campaign. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> then proceeded to Sultániyya. When he reached Qazwín, Sultán Báyzíd and Sáriq 'Adil came out to meet him, and were graciously received. Amír Ya<sup>c</sup>qúb-sháh the standard-bearer was sent to Sultán Aḥmad, and peace was concluded between the brothers. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> removed Sáriq 'Adil from his post, and returned to Shíráz.

*Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> marches against Shúshtar and Luristán.*

On returning from Qazwín, Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> sent his army by way of Lur-i-Kúchak to Khurram-ábád, where he encamped beneath the citadel and received the allegiance of Malik 'Izzu'd-Dín, whose daughter he demanded in marriage. The service was conducted by Mawláná Sa<sup>c</sup>du'd-Dín Anasí, and four days

were devoted to the celebration of their nuptials. After this Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> proceeded over bad roads and through mountains to Dizfúl and Shúshtar, the army suffering much from the cold, for it was winter. When they reached the Shúshtar river, heavy rain came on, which lasted for several days, but finally the weather cleared, and the Atábek Shamsu'd-Dín Pashang arrived, and also Sháh Maṣṣúr, from the other side of the river, with 500 or 600 horsemen fully equipped. Thus they remained for a week, as the river was too high for them to be able to cross. On both sides there was talk (726) of peace. Sháh Maṣṣúr came to one bank of the river, and Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> to the other, and this was as near as they could come to meeting. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> then retired, promising the Atábek to send an army from Shíráz under the command of Sultán Báýazíd to reinforce him, and proceed with him to Shúshtar by way of Kúh-Gaylúya. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> returned to Shíráz, while the Atábek went to 'Idaj. On the march Faraj Ághá deserted Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> and went to Shúshtar. On reaching Shúlistán, Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> remained there a few days making merry, but, falling ill, he proceeded to Shíráz, where he was met by the ladies of the court, who were returning from Iṣfahán. Once more he plunged into an orgie of drinking, which he continued without intermission until his illness again grew serious, and he was obliged to take to his bed. His complaint baffled the skill of the physicians, (727) and he presently realized that he must die, and set about making all the arrangements for his funeral and interment. Meanwhile the *Amírs* and people were divided into two hostile parties as to who should succeed the dying king, one preferring Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>'s son Sultán Zaynu'l-<sup>c</sup>Abidín, and the other his brother Sultán Aḥmad. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup>, on hearing this, sent for his son Zaynu'l-<sup>c</sup>Abidín, and gave him some fatherly advice on the necessity of unity and concord amongst kinsmen, of which the substance is given. (728) Zaynu'l-<sup>c</sup>Abidín was much moved by

this, and by his father's impending death, and on his coming forth from the death-chamber, Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> sent for his brother Sultán Aḥmad and they wept together. Then Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> gave Sultán Aḥmad a similar admonition, begged him to set out at once for Kirmán and assume the government of that city, and urged him not to suffer himself to be led into rebellion against Zaynu'l-ʿAbidín, nor to give countenance to those mischief-makers who were already engaged in stirring up strife. He then gave him further advice as to his behaviour, and what he should seek and avoid. (729) Advice of Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> to Sultán Aḥmad as to the government of Kirmán and Bam, the treatment of the tribes, and other matters, continued. (730) On that very day Sultán Aḥmad left Shíráz and set out for Kirmán. After this Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> wrote a letter to Tímúr (Tamerlane). Text of this letter. (731) Same continued. (732) Same continued. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> mentions his age as fifty-three. He announces his choice of Zaynu'l-ʿAbidín as his successor, and commends him and his other sons and brothers to Tímúr's favour. (733) Conclusion of letter. — Having completed all these arrangements, Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> expired on Sunday, 22nd of Sha<sup>c</sup>bán, A. H. 786 (= October 9, A. D. 1384),— and was buried at the foot of the Mountain of Chil Maqám at Shíráz, according to the wish which he had expressed <sup>1</sup>). (734) His age at the time of his death was 53 years and 3 months, and he had reigned 27 years. On his death confusion ensued: the people of ʿIráq demanded Sháh Yaḥyá; Sultán Aḥmad, as already narrated, was ruler of Kirmán; and Sultán Zaynu'l-ʿAbidín reigned in Shíráz in the place of his father.

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1) This statement hardly agrees with that made on p. 703 of the text (p. 178 *supra*) to the effect that Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> spent a large sum of money in buying a plot of ground for his tomb at Mecca.

*Reign of Zaynu'l-ʿĀbidīn b. Jalālū'd-Dīn Shāh Shujāʿ  
b. Mubārizu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sharafu'd-Dīn Muẓaffar  
b. Shujāʿu'd-Dīn Maṣṣūr b. Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn Ḥājji.*

No sooner had Zaynu'l-ʿĀbidīn succeeded his father than Shāh Yahyá marched from Iṣfahán to attack him. Sultán Bá Yazíd deserted the former and joined the latter. The two armies, however, separated without fighting, and some sort of agreement was made between the two rivals. Soon afterwards the Iṣfahánis, prompted by their intrinsic malice and turbulence, expelled Shāh Yahyá from their city (735), and he fled with his retainers to Yazd, while Sultán Bá Yazíd went to Luristán. Zaynu'l-ʿĀbidīn, being informed of this, appointed his mother's brother Amír Muẓaffar-i-Kāshí governor of Iṣfahán.

*Sultán ʿImādu'd-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad  
b. al-Muẓaffar b. al-Maṣṣūr b. al-Ḥājji comes to Kirmán.*

Sultán ʿImādu'd-Dīn Aḥmad reached Kirmán on Friday, the 20th of Shaʿbān, A. II. 786 (= October 7, 1384), and was met by the loyal and God-fearing Amír Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn Ḥasan Qurchí, and other notables of the city, who brought him to the *Qaṣr-i-Humáyūn* (Royal Palace) and delivered to him the keys. Amír Ḥasan wished, but was not permitted, to go to Shíráz. Two days later the news of the death of Shāh Shujāʿ arrived, and public mourning was observed. Sultán Aḥmad was enthroned as ruler of Kirmán. His virtues and beneficence, especially towards the ʿulamá. His lack of decision and easy-going character.

*Amír Súrghatmish the Afghán joins his tribe.*

Zaynu'l-ʿĀbidīn, having made peace with Shāh Yahyá, released Amír Súrghatmish (736), who had been for some time detained by Shāh Shujāʿ, and sent him to his tribe. Sultán Aḥmad, on his arrival at Kirmán, showed much favour to Amír Muḥammad Jurmáʿi, who had formerly served him

faithfully, and imprisoned Amír Tákúr the Afghán. The Afghán *amírs* were, generally speaking, in a miserable and impoverished condition, and, on the arrival of Amír Súrghatmish in the Garmsír, at once joined him. Sultán Aḥmad, being informed of this by Amír Muḥammad, set out from Kirmán with an army. On reaching the Garmsír <sup>1)</sup> he was joined by a number of warriors, whom he received with honour, and proceeded to Chahár Gunbad, where he was further reinforced by Amír Muḥammad with a number of the Jurmá'í *amírs*. Súrghatmish sent scouts to bring him correct information about this army, but these fell in with a detachment of Sultán Aḥmad's army and were put to rout. Súrghatmish thereupon retreated to the Garmsír to Tárím, leaving his brother Jamshíd in the Castle of Ārzú. A letter from 'Alí [b.] Naṣr, the governor of Sírján, to Súrghatmish, promising him help, fell into Sultán Aḥmad's hands, and he caused 'Alí [b.] Naṣr to be put to death, and set out for Sírján, where he confiscated the traitor's possessions. Two or three days later the Sultán set out to lay siege to the Castle of Ārzú, (737) which he subdued without much difficulty, and put certain suspected persons to death, sending Jamshíd in chains with the severed heads of the slain to Kirmán, whither he followed him. In A. H. 787 (= A. D. 1385—6) arrived an envoy from Tímúr, *viz.* Mawláná Quṭbu'd-Dín, bringing assurances of favour and friendship, and Sultán Aḥmad caused Tímúr's name to be inserted on the coinage and in the *khutba*. After this Amír Súrghatmish sought help from Shíráz, and received reinforcements commanded by Pahlawán Zaynu'd-Dín Shahr-i-Bábakí. Amír Muḥammad at once informed Sultán Aḥmad, who wished to march against Súrghatmish in person, but was dissuaded, and contented himself with sending an army commanded by Pahlawán 'Alí Qúrchí, who was "the

<sup>1)</sup> MS. "Shíráz", which is certainly an error, though the emendation is conjectural.

Rustam of the Army of Kirmán'', supported by Amír Muḥammad Jurmá'í. (738) A battle took place in which Amír Muḥammad slew Súrghatmish in single combat with a blow of his mace, and the enemy, on seeing this, lost all discipline and courage and were speedily routed, with great losses in slain and prisoners. Sultán Aḥmad then appointed Pahlawán 'Alí Qurchí governor of the Afgháns.

*Arrival of Sultán Abū Yazíd [or Báyazíd] b. Muḥammad  
b. al-Muẓaffar at Kirmán.*

In A. H. 788 (= A. D. 1386—7) Sultán Báyazíd set out from Luristán for Kirmán, sending Khwája Táju'd-Dín Salmání on in advance to announce his arrival. Sultán Aḥmad sent Mihtar Ḥasan the *farrásh* to meet him and prepare fodder and provisions for his escort. Sultán Báyazíd halted at Shahr-i-Bábak, and his ill-disciplined and hungry soldiers began to loot and plunder. Sultán Aḥmad was much vexed at this, and refused to allow Sultán Báyazíd to enter Kirmán, so he turned back disappointed to Yazd and joined Sháh Yaḥyá.

(739) *Tímúr's first entry into 'Iráq and Fárs.*

In Shawwál, A. H. 789 (= Oct.—Nov., A. D. 1387) news arrived that Tímúr had advanced into 'Iráq, and that Amír Muẓaffar-i-Káshí and all the nobles and captains of 'Iráq had waited upon him and surrendered to him the keys of all the cities and fortresses. Sultán Zaynu'l-'Ābidín with his *Amírs* left Shíráz and went towards Baghdád, while Sháh Yaḥyá busied himself in preparing suitable presents wherewith to propitiate Tímúr (who promised security to all who submitted to him) and ordered a certain sum of money to be paid to him for the maintenance of his army. His officers entered Iṣfahán to collect this money, but the Iṣfahánís rose against them and slew them all. Next day Tímúr's soldiers entered the city and made a general massacre, in which

nearly 200,000 of the inhabitants were slain. Then Tímúr set out for Fárs, and Sultán Aḥmad came from Kirmán to pay him his respects, sending Amír Ikhthiyáru'd-Dín Ḥasan on in advance. (740) The latter was well received by Tímúr, and in consequence sent messages to Sultán Aḥmad urging him to come without delay. He also met with a favourable reception from the great conqueror, and was by him confirmed in the government of Fárs, 'Iráq and Kirmán. Then Tímúr returned to his capital Samarqand.

*Sultán Báyezíd comes to Kirmán.*

Sultán Aḥmad was accompanied on his return to Kirmán by some of Tímúr's revenue officers. Sultán Báyezíd was preparing to march on India, but, on hearing how the kingdom had been apportioned by Tímúr, he returned to the Garmsír, where he was joined by the tribe of the Afgháns. Sultán Aḥmad was greatly disturbed by this news, the country being in disorder and the army scattered, some of the soldiers having even joined Sultán Báyezíd, but nevertheless he marched out to attack his rival, whom he defeated and took prisoner, but treated kindly (741) and forgave, though he put to death those who had misled him, and sent their heads with a proclamation of victory to Kirmán, whither he followed them, accompanied by his brother. Thence he went to Sírján on a hunting excursion, sending his brother to Manúqán to look after the revenues of Hurmúz. He then returned to Kirmán, where he was presently joined by his brother Báyezíd after he had compelled the people of Manúqán (or Manúján) to submit and pay tribute.

*Capture of Sultán Zaynu'l-'Abidín.*

When Sultán Zaynu'l-'Abidín, with his *Amírs*, soldiers and treasures, set out from Shíráz for Baghdád, he was met at Shúshtar by Sháh Maṣṣúr, and brought across the river to

the city, outside which he encamped. He was hospitably entertained by Sháh Maṣṣūr, and was visited by the wife of the latter (who was the daughter of Sháh Shujáʿ and therefore his sister or half-sister) and her son Sultán Ghaḍanfar. Gradually, as confidence increased, the soldiers of Zaynu'l-ʿAbidín, and finally he himself with his captains, ventured into the city in pursuance of their affairs, until suddenly Sháh Maṣṣūr seized and bound Zaynu'l-ʿAbidín and his chief officers, took possession of his treasure and property, and invited his soldiers to take service with him. (742) Being aware that his brother Sháh Yaḥyá was in Shíráz and that Tímúr had returned to Samarqand, Sháh Maṣṣūr imprisoned Zaynu'l-ʿAbidín in the citadel, induced most of his *Amirs* to join him, and marched on Shíráz. Sháh Yaḥyá, unable to meet him, retreated to Yazd, and Maṣṣūr occupied Shíráz without opposition. He seized the chief nobles, and blinded Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Maṣṣūr Shúl. Sháh Yaḥyá, on reaching Yazd, lured Pahlawán-i-Muhaddhab, the governor of Abarqúh, thither on some pretext, and on his arrival put him to death, seized Abarqúh, and took possession of his treasure, which he had amassed in the course of many years. He then sent messengers to Sultán Abú Isháq at Sírján, and induced him to enter into an alliance.

*Sháh Yaḥyá marches on Kirmán.*

When Sultán Abú Isháq, relinquishing all thought of Kirmán, allied himself with Sháh Yaḥyá, the latter marched from Yazd by way of Anár to subdue Kirmán, plundering as he went, until he arrived at Núq. Amír Ikhtiyáru'd-Dín Ḥasan, one of the principal nobles of Kirmán, had recently died. Sultán Aḥmad and his brother [Sultán Báyzíd] set out on their march, while Sháh Yaḥyá proceeded from Núq to Báft, where he was joined by Sultán Abú Isháq and the army of Sírján, and where the two armies met in battle. At this

juncture an ambassador, who was coming from the court of Tímúr to Kirmán (743), came up, and strove to effect a reconciliation, but without success. On Saturday, the 7th of Jumáda I, A. H. 792 (= April 23, 1390) a battle took place at Báft between the two factions, in which Sháh Yahyá was finally defeated and fled to Yazd, while Sultán Abú Isháq entrenched himself in Sírján. Sultán Aḥmad sent a proclamation of his victory with the heads of the slain to Kirmán, and proceeded to Sírján, which capitulated after a few days' siege. Abú Isháq surrendered, did obeisance to Sultán Aḥmad, was pardoned and received back into favour, and was restored to his former position as governor of Sírján. Amír Ḥájji Sháh, the brother of Abú Isháq's mother, who was deemed responsible for this rebellion (744) was, however, put to death after a brief imprisonment. In the same year, in the month of Shawwál (Sept. 12—Oct. 10, 1390), Sultán Abú Isháq died, aged 37, and was deeply mourned by the people of Kirmán. He was a poet, and one of his quatrains is quoted as a specimen.

*Sultán Zaynu'l-ʿĀbidín comes to Iṣfahán.*

When Sháh Maṣṣúr had established himself in Shíráz, some of those charged with the custody of Zaynu'l-ʿĀbidín at Shúshtar agreed to liberate him and bring him to Iṣfahán, where he was well received by the people.

*Reign of Sháh Maṣṣúr b. Sháh Muṣaffar b. Muḥammad  
b. Muṣaffar [b. Maṣṣúr] b. Ḥájji.*

When Sháh Maṣṣúr had established himself in Shíráz, he proceeded to attack and capture Abarqúh, and then marched on Iṣfahán, devastating the country as he passed. He returned, however, to Shíráz without effecting much, and found it suffering from famine and drought (745), in consequence of which many of the people of Fárs had perished

or emigrated. The Atábek Shamsu'd-Dín Pashang had been succeeded on his death by the Atábek Pír Aḥmad, between whom and his younger brother Malik Húshang a quarrel had arisen, in which the latter was slain. Thus internecine strife arose in Luristán, and Sháh Maṣṣúr proceeded thither and drove out Pír Aḥmad, who went to lay a complaint before Tímúr. Sháh Maṣṣúr meanwhile appointed Malik Uways, a local nobleman, governor of Luristán, and himself set out for Shíráz to prepare a fresh expedition against Iṣfahán. Meanwhile Sháh Yaḥyá had persuaded Zaynu'l-ʿAbidín that he must ally himself with Sultán Aḥmad to seek vengeance on Sháh Maṣṣúr, and the two allies agreed to meet at Sírján in Ṣafar, A. H. 793 (= January, 1391). There Sultán Aḥmad and his son Sultán Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad were met by Sultán Zaynu'l-ʿAbidín coming from Iṣfahán, and entertained by Sultán Abú Isháq (746). After a few days they set out for Fárs. At Tárím they were joined by the Hazára tribe, but at Furg Sháh Maṣṣúr with a large army barred their way. Sultán Aḥmad made his way to Nayríz by way of Khush-Nawá. Sháh Yaḥyá sent word that he was coming with all speed and that his allies should await his arrival, so, in spite of the advice of their officers and nobles to continue their advance, they tarried some ten days in that neighbourhood. However, Sháh Yaḥyá did not arrive, and meanwhile Sháh Maṣṣúr re-entered Shíráz, raised and equipped a fresh army, and again took the field. Sultán Aḥmad went by way of Sarvistán to Pasá (Fasá), while Sháh Maṣṣúr proceeded by another road to the Garmsír. The two armies met on a Friday evening at Fasá. Sháh Maṣṣúr, who expected reinforcements, pretended to wish to arrive at a peaceful agreement, and battle was not joined until Saturday, when he fiercely attacked the armies of Kirmán and Iṣfahán, put them to rout, and killed many. The fugitives made for Kirmán, but Sultán Zaynu'l-ʿAbidín left them at Qaṭra and went to Iṣfahán,

while Sultán Aḥmad went to Kirmán, and Sultán Abú Isháq halted at Sírján.

*Iṣfahán is captured by Sháh Maṣṣúr, and Sultán Zaynu'l-  
‘Ābidín taken and blinded.*

(747) Sháh Maṣṣúr after his victory returned to Shíráz, and was joined by many deserters from the rival army. He then marched on Iṣfahán, and Sultán Zaynu'l-‘Ābidín, unable to oppose him, fled to Khurásán by way of Ray. Sháh Maṣṣúr was now master of ‘Irāq. The governor of Ray, Músá “Jaw-kár” (“the barley-farmer”), treacherously seized Zaynu'l-‘Ābidín and sent him bound to Sháh Maṣṣúr, who immediately deprived him of his eyesight. What Sháh Maṣṣúr subsequently suffered at the hands of Tímúr is regarded by the author as a punishment for this cruel deed. Sháh Maṣṣúr next proceeded to Yazd, and laid waste that city and its environs, after which he set out for Kirmán, whither he sent an ambassador bidding his uncle and his brother Sháh Yaḥyá renounce their allegiance to Tímúr and each send one of the sons and some retainers to accompany him to Khurásán and hold the river (Oxus) against a possible invasion of Tímúr. (748) In case of their refusal, he threatened them with war. Sultán Aḥmad declined to accede to this proposal, and pointed out the folly of provoking Tímúr. Sháh Maṣṣúr thereupon harried the neighbourhood and then returned to Shíráz, whence he presently set out again to lay siege to Yazd where Sháh Yaḥyá was. Several skirmishes took place, in one of which a certain Amír of Sháh Maṣṣúr’s named Gurgín was killed. Sháh Maṣṣúr, greatly enraged, laid waste the whole country-side and again advanced on Kirmán as far as Rúdán and Rafsinján, laying waste this country also. Some of his *Amírs* deserted him and joined Sultán Aḥmad, who accorded them a good reception. Sháh Maṣṣúr, alarmed at these desertions, withdrew to Shíráz, and succeeded by favours and gifts in inducing Sultán Abú Isháq

to join him (749) in attacking Kirmán. Abú Isháq advanced from Sírján into the Garmsír, and Sultán Aḥmad marched thither to meet him, halting for a month at Báft, where ambassadors from Tímúr came to him and informed him that their master was advancing with his army on ‘Iráq and Fárs, and that it behoved him to meet them with the army of Kirmán at Ray. Sultán Aḥmad thereupon returned to Kirmán, where, prompted by certain envious and malicious slanderers, he put to death Pahlawán Quṭbu’-d-Dín Ḥaydar on a false charge of intriguing with Sultán Abú Isháq. Tímúr’s envoy <sup>1)</sup> began to approach Kirmán at the beginning of A. H. 795 (= latter part of November, 1392), and Sultán Aḥmad with all his nobles went to meet him and bring him in to Kirmán. Sháh Maṣṣúr, who was then at Iṣfahán, retired to Shíráz and betook himself to the wine-bottle, so that for forty days no one saw him in public.

(750) *Second invasion of Fárs by Tímúr.*

Tímúr, on leaving his winter quarters in Mázandarán, and subduing Sultániyya and the neighbourhood, proceeded to Hamadán, whence he sent Muḥammad Sultán Bahádur through Kurdistán, with orders to rejoin the main army at Ḥuwayza and Dizfúl. At the same time he sent prince ‘Umar Shaykh Bahádur by way of Qum, Áwa, Sáwa and parts of Lur-i-Buzurg and Lur-i-Kúchak to meet him at the same rendezvous. Malik ‘Izzu’-d-Dín the Lur was at that time engaged in a dispute with his son, but on hearing of the advance of Tímúr’s troops they at once made peace, and, going in opposite directions, evacuated Lur-i-Kúchak. Tímúr, leaving

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1) This passage is obscure. The literal translation is: “the King of kings (*Sháh-i-Sháhán*) with the army reached the Kirmán road”. Either the expression “King of kings” refers to some one other than Tímúr, or the words “envoy of” have been omitted, for it appears certain from the other histories of the period (*Zafar-náma*, *‘Ajá’ibu’l-Maqdúr*, *Maṭla‘u’s-Sa’dáyn*, *Ḥabibu’s-Siyar*, etc.) that Tímúr never visited Kirmán.

Amír Sayfu'd-Dín Qúltásh with some 500 men to hold Burújird, and Amír Hájji Tímúr Búqá and Shaykh Sístání, with the same number of men, to hold Khurramábád, advanced towards Shúshtar by way of Samra (751), and thence to Dizfúl, where he was received by the nobles and chief men. When 'Alí Kútwál and Amír Isfandiyár who governed Shúshtar on behalf of Sháh Manşúr, heard this, they fled to Shíráz, and Tímúr entered Dizfúl without opposition. Leaving Khwája Mas'úd with a thousand men to garrison Shúshtar, and Hasan-i-Rashíd at Huwayza, and one of his Khurásání officers at Dizfúl, Tímúr advanced by way of Bahbahán towards Shíráz. Mihtar Sa'ádat the *farrásh*, who was the Warden of Qal'a-i-Safid, trusting in the impregnability of that fortress, renowned from ancient times, opposed Tímúr, who, on the third day after his arrival, stormed and took the castle and put all the garrison to the sword. When this news reached Sháh Manşúr he fled incontinently from Shíráz to the Bridge of Fasá. Being joined there by certain fugitives, he enquired of them what the people of Shíráz were saying, and they replied that they were laughing at him because, with all his arrogance and heavy quiver, he had "fled like a goat". (752) On hearing this, shame and his evil destiny prompted him to turn back and oppose Tímúr, who had already reached Shíráz, with his small army of 3000 men, mostly nomads. When Tímúr saw him prepared for battle, he entrusted the right wing of his host to Pír Muḥammad Bahádur, the left to Prince Muḥammad Sultán Bahádur and the centre to his son (753) Prince Sháh Rukh. As Tímúr's army advanced, Sháh Manşúr's right and left wings at once gave way and fled, but he himself, with his bravest retainers, stood firm, and fought with desperate valour, so that Tímúr's body-guard gave way, all except four or five men <sup>1)</sup>, until at last he was left

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1) That Tímúr was very hard pressed, and that Sháh Manşúr even succeeded

alone, wounded in three places in the neck and face. (754) Unrecognized, he made his way into the city; but one of Tímúr's soldiers dragged him from his horse, and, as he fell to the ground, his helmet fell off his head, and he cried, "I am he whom you seek: give me a draught of water, and take me alive to Tímúr." The soldiers paid no heed to his request, but killed him on the spot and brought his head to Tímúr. Most of his retainers were also killed or taken captive; Fárs was subjugated, and proclamations of victory were sent by Tímúr through his empire. Sulṭán Aḥmad and Mahdí the son of Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> were on their way to Tímúr's camp when news of these events reached them: they hastened their advance and made their submission. Sulṭán Abú Isháq b. Uways b. Sháh Shujá<sup>c</sup> left a servant named Gúdarz in charge of the Castle of Sírján, and himself went to Tímúr, who caused all these princes to be put in chains. Fárs and 'Iráq were assigned to Prince 'Umar Shaykh Bahádur, and Kirmán to 'Idakú Bahádur, to whom, on presentation of a letter from Sulṭán Aḥmad to his son Sulṭán Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad, the keys of the city were at once surrendered (755). A week later, during the first third of Rajab, A. H. 795 (= May 13—22, 1393) an Imperial Rescript was issued in the village of Máhyár, ordering all the House of Muẓaffar, great and small, to be put to death, which order was ruthlessly carried out.

[Here ends the intercalated history of the Muẓaffarí dynasty, and the interrupted text of the *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida* is resumed.]

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in striking him twice on the helmet, is asserted in the *Zafar-náma*, *Maṭla'at Sa'dayn* and *Ḥabibu's-Siyar*.

CHAPTER V. — ON THE IMAMS, 'READERS',  
SHAYKHS AND DOCTORS OF ISLĀM,  
IN SIX SECTIONS.

*Section 1. — Imáms and Muĵtahids of Islām (13).*

- (1) *Jaʿfar-i-Ṣādiq* "the Imám of the Sunnís" (*sic!*)<sup>1)</sup> (p. 756), of whom mention has been already made.
- (2) *Abú Ḥanífa Naʿmán b. Thábit b. Ṭáʿús b. Hurmazd*. His ancestor blessed by ʿAlí, whose standard-bearer he was. Abú Ḥanífa's dream. He died at Baghdád in A. H. 151 (= A. D. 768), at the age of 80. Maliksháh's *Mustawfí*, Sharafu'l-Mulk Abú Saʿd, built a mausoleum over his grave. He had met and conversed with 7 of the Prophet's Companions (names given).
- (3) *Málik b. Anas* (757). His father was one of the Companions. He died, aged 85, in A. H. 179 (= A. D. 795—6) at al-Madína, and was buried in al-Baqíʿ.
- (4) *Muḥammad b. Idrís ash-Sháfiʿí*. His dreams. He is accused of being a "Ráfiđí" (Shíʿite) on account of his excessive love for the House of the Prophet. He is persecuted by the Caliph to declare the Qurʾán created. The trick whereby he satisfies his persecutors. He flees to Egypt and dies there on Rajab 7, A. H. 204 (= Dec. 28, 819), aged 54, and is buried at Fustát (Old Cairo).
- (5) *Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal* (758) was the disciple of ash-Sháfiʿí. He was imprisoned and beaten to death for refusing to admit that the Qurʾán was created. His death took place in A. H. 230 (= A. D. 844—5)<sup>2)</sup>. He was buried beside Abú Ḥanífa.
- (6) *Ṭáʿús b. Kaysán al-Yamání*, d. A. H. 106 (= A. D. 724—5: this text has A. H. 600 erroneously).

1) This must be a mere scribe's error for "Imám of the Shíʿís".

2) This is an error. The correct date, A. H. 241 (= A. D. 855—6) is given by Ibnul-Athír and Ibn Khallikán.

- (7) *Ḥasan b. Yasār al-Baṣrī*, d. A. H. 110 (= A. D. 728—9) at Baṣra.
- (8) *Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmān b. Abī Layla*, d. A. H. 106 (A. D. 724—5) <sup>1</sup>).
- (9) *Rabīʿa b. [Abī] ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmān*, d. A. H. 136 (= A. D. 753—4).
- (10) *ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmān b. ʿUmar al-Awsāʿi*, d. A. H. 157 (= A. D. 773—4).
- (11) *Sufyān ath-Thaʿwri*, d. A. H. 161 (= A. D. 777—8) at Baṣra, aged 64.
- (12) *Qaḍī Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīb b. Saʿd*, d. A. H. 182 (= A. D. 798—9), aged 89.
- (13) *Muḥammad b. (759) Ḥasan ash-Shaybānī*, d. A. H. 189 (= A. D. 805), aged 58.

*Section 2. — “Readers” (10), or “Qurra”.*

- (1) *Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmān b. Abī Naʿīm* of al-Madīna, originally of Iṣfahān, d. A. H. 169 (= A. D. 785—6).
- (2) *ʿAbdu'llāh b. Kathīr* of Mecca, d. A. H. 120 (= A. D. 738).
- (3) *Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ al-Baṣrī*, d. A. H. 154 (= A. D. 771) at Kūfa.
- (4) *ʿAbdu'llāh b. ʿĀmir* of Damascus, d. A. H. 118 (= A. D. 736).
- (5) *ʿĀṣim b. [Abī'n-Najūd] <sup>2</sup> al-Kūfī*, d. A. H. 127 (= A. D. 744—5).
- (6) *Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb b. ʿUmāra az-Zayyāt <sup>3</sup> al-Kūfī*, d. A. H. 156 (= A. D. 772—3).
- (7) *Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Kisāʾī al-Kūfī*, d. in A. H. 189 (= A. D. 804—5) at Ray. These seven persons are

<sup>1</sup>) Another error. The correct date is A. H. 148 (= A. D. 765—6).

<sup>2</sup>) See Ibn Khallikān under the letter ع; *Fihrist*, p. 29; and Ibnu'l-Athīr *sub anno* 128.

<sup>3</sup>) See Ibn Khallikān under the letter ح; *Fihrist*, p. 29; and Ibnu'l-Athīr *sub anno* 156.

the "Seven Readers" of primary authority. The remaining ones are:

- (8) *Abú Fa'far Yazíd b. al-Qa'qá'*.
- (9) *Khalaf b. (760) Hishám*, d. A. H. 229 (= A. D. 843—4) <sup>1)</sup>.
- (10) *Abú Muḥammad Ya'qúb b. Isháq b. Zayd b. [ʿAbdu'lláh b. Abí] Isháq al-Hadramí* <sup>2)</sup>.

*Section 3. — Traditionists (7), or "Muḥaddithín".*

- (1) *Al-Bukhárí*, d. Shawwál, 1, A. H. 256 (= Sept. 1, A. D. 870) at Samárqand. His great-grandfather was converted to Islám from Zoroastrianism.
- (2) *Muslim* of Nishápúr, d. 24th of Rajab, A. H. 261 (= April 23, A. D. 875).
- (3) *Abú Dá'úd Sulaymán . . . as-Sijistání*, d. 16th Shawwál, A. H. 257 (= Sept. 6, A. D. 871) at Baṣra, aged 55.
- (4) *Abú ʿIsá Muḥammad at-Tirmidhí*, d. A. H. 279 (= A. D. 892—3) at Tirmidh, aged 55.
- (5) *Abú ʿAbdi'r-Raḥmán [Aḥmad] an-Nasá'í*, d. at Mecca, A. H. 303 (= A. D. 915—6): other MSS. have A. H. 203 (= A. D. 818—9), which is correct <sup>3)</sup>.
- (6) *Abú ʿAbdi'lláh Muḥammad b. Yazíd b. Mája* of Qazwín, d. A. H. 273 (= A. D. 886—7) at Qazwín.
- (7) *Abú Muḥammad ʿAbdu'lláh . . . ad-Dárimí*. These seven were the greatest Traditionists, and each of them left a *Corpus* of critically selected Traditions entitled *aṣ-Ṣaḥíḥ*.

*Section 4. — Shaykhs.*

Those who had met any of the actual Companions (*Ṣaḥába*) of the Prophet were known as "Followers" (*Tábi'ín*), and those who had met any of them as "Followers of the Followers" (*Taba'ín't-Tábi'ín*), but afterwards, for the sake of

1) MS. erroneously "129". See *Fihrist*, p. 31, and Ibnu'l-Athír *sub anno* 229.

2) See Ibn Khallikán under *Ya'qúb*.

3) See Ibn Khallikán and Ibnu'l-Athír *sub anno* 303.

brevity (761), later holy men were known simply as Shaykhs (*Mashā'ikh*) or "Elders". A few of the chief of these are here enumerated. (About 300 are mentioned in the text, but of these only the more important are given here).

- (1) *Uways al-Qarānī* was one of the Companions of the Prophet, but is placed at the head of this list of Shaykhs "for a blessing". His devotion to the Prophet. He is said to have been killed in a war with the people of Daylam, and to be buried near Qazwīn, but others say he was killed at the Battle of Šifīn, A. H. 36 (= A. D. 656—7), and others that he is buried near Kirmānshāh. Some of his sayings.
- (2) *Ḥasan of Baṣra*, d. A. H. 110 (= A. D. 728—9) <sup>1)</sup>. Some of his sayings (762).
- (3) *Ḥabīb al-ʿAjāmī*. His conversion. Some of his sayings.
- (4) *Muḥammad-i-Wāsiʿ*, d. A. H. 120 (= A. D. 738).
- (5) *ʿUtbatu'l-Ghulām* <sup>2)</sup> was a disciple of Ḥasan of Baṣra.
- (6) *Abū Ḥāzim* of Mecca, another disciple of the same (763).
- (7) *Mālik-i-Dīnār*, d. A. H. 130 (= A. D. 747—8).
- (8) *Rābiʿa al-ʿAdawīyya*.
- (9) *Abū Sulaymān Dāʿūd-i-Ṭāʾī*, d. A. H. 165 (= A. D. 781—2).
- (10) *Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Adham*, a prince of Balkh. His conversion. (764) He goes to the Ḥijāz and meets Fuḍayl b. ʿIyād. He died in Asia Minor in A. H. 161 (= A. D. 777—8) <sup>3)</sup>, and is buried near Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.
- (11) *Abū ʿAlī Shāqīq* of Balkh. His conversion. He died in A. H. 190 (= A. D. 805—6) <sup>4)</sup>. (765) His sayings.

1) MS. A. H. 117 (= A. D. 735). The correct date is given on p. 209 *supra* (7). See Ibn Khallikān, etc.

2) See *Fihrist*, p. 183, l. 23; p. 185, l. 5; and the *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyā* of ʿAṭṭār (ed. Nicholson, vol. i, pp. 57—9).

3) This MS. has "A. H. 101, or, according to another account, A. H. 130)". The date A. H. 161, given by most MSS. of the *Guzida*, is confirmed by Ibnul-Athīr, Ibn Shākir, Jāmī, etc.

4) Ibn Khallikān gives A. H. 153 (A. D. 770) and Jāmī, in the *Nafaḥātu'l-Uns*, A. H. 174 (= A. D. 790—1).

- (12) *Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ* of Merv, d. A. H. 187 (= A. D. 803). He was originally a highway-robber. His conversion. His sayings.
- (13) *Ḥatīm al-Aṣamm* ("the Deaf"). Why called "the Deaf". Speaks boldly to the Caliph. (766) "The Four Deaths" which the mystic must die.
- (14) *Abū Maḥfūẓ Maʿrūf b. Fīrūz al-Karkhī*, d. A. H. 200 (= A. D. 815—6). His parents were Christians. His conversion. His sayings.
- (15) *Muḥammad-i-Sammāk*, a contemporary of him last mentioned.
- (16) *Buḥlūl*. He reproves Hārūnu'r-Rashīd (767) <sup>1</sup>).
- (17) *Abū Naṣr Bishr b. Ḥārith*, called *al-Ḥāfī* ("the Barefooted") of Merv, d. A. H. 227 (= A. D. 841—2). Cause of his blessedness. His sayings.
- (18) *Abū Yazīd (Báyazīd) Ṭayfūr b. ʿIsá b. Surúshān* of Bistām, d. A. H. 261 (= A. D. 874—5) or 234 (= A. D. 848—9). His sayings (768). He had two brothers named Adam and ʿIsá <sup>2</sup>), some of whose sons also bore his name.
- (19) *Ibrāhīm* of Merv (or Herát <sup>3</sup>), according to other MSS.), a contemporary of the above. His tomb is at Qazwīn.
- (20) *Abū'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad [b. Abī'l-] Ḥawārī*, d. A. H. 230 (= A. D. 844—5) <sup>4</sup>).
- (21) *Aḥmad b. Ḥarb*, another contemporary of Báyazīd. His sayings.
- (22) *Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad b. Khidrawayhi* (769) of Balkh, d. A. H. 240 (= A. D. 854—5), aged 95.

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1) Other MSS. here insert two other biographies, of Shaykh Muḥammad-i-Aslam of Ṭūs, and Shaykh Abū Sulaymán of Damascus.

2) According to Ibn Khallikán the second brother was called ʿAlí.

3) Herát appears to be correct, for Jámí (*Nafaḥát*) calls him Ibrāhīm Sitanba-i-Hirawí.

4) So also in the *Nafaḥát* of Jámí; but the *Fihrist* (p. 184 and notes thereon) and the *Táju'l-ʿArús* (under ج, ح, ح) give A. H. 246 (= A. D. 860—1).

- 23) *Abū 'Abdi'lláh Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī*, d. A. H. 243 (= A. D. 857—8) at Baghdád.
- (24) *Dhu'u-Núu al-Miṣrī* ("the Egyptian"), d. A. H. 245 (= A. D. 859—860).
- (25) *Dhu'l-Kifl*, brother of the above.
- (26) *Abū Turāb 'Alī b. Ḥuṣayn* of Nakhshab, d. A. H. 245 (= A. D. 859—860) (770) Preservation of his corpse. His sayings.
- (27) *Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Aur* of Tirmidh, d. A. H. 247 (= A. D. 861—2).
- (28) *Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. 'Āṣim* of Antioch, d. A. H. 205 (= A. D. 820—1: other MSS. have "A. H. 250" = A. D. 864—5) <sup>1)</sup>.
- (29) *Abū 'Abdi'lláh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá*, d. A. H. 240 (= A. D. 854—5).
- (30) *Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥakīm* of Tirmidh. (771).
- (31) *Abū'l Ḥasan as-Sarī* <sup>2)</sup> *as-Saqāṭī*, d. A. H. 257 (= A. D. 870—1). His sayings.
- (32) *Abū Zakariyyá Yaḥyá b. Mu'ādh ar-Rāzī*, d. A. H. 258 (= A. D. 871—2). His sayings.
- (33) *Muḥammad b. Isma'īl as-Sāmīrī*, d. A. H. 296 (= A. D. 908—9) at Qazwīn (772). His sayings.
- (34) *Abū Ḥafṣ 'Aur* <sup>3)</sup> *b. Muslim* <sup>4)</sup> *al-Ḥaddād* of Níshápur, d. A. H. 266 (= A. D. 879—880).
- (35) *Abū Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdūn b. Aḥmad b. Qaṣṣār* of Níshápur, d. A. H. 271 (= A. D. 884—5).
- (36) *Abū Muḥammad Sahl b. 'Abdu'llah Tustarī* (of Shúshtar), d. A. H. 273 (= A. D. 886—7).

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1) The latter date is correct, for he is stated to have died in the time of al-Musta'in, who was Caliph from A. H. 248—251 (= A. D. 862—5).

2) MS. "at-Tustarī", *i. e.* of Shúshtar, but the reading adopted is that given by the *Fihrist*, *Ibn Kḥallikán*, the *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyá*, *Nafaḥātu'l-Uns*, etc.

3) MS. 'Umar, but the *Kashfu'l-Mahjúb* and *Nafaḥát* give the reading here adopted.

4) For "Muslim" the *Nafaḥát* has "Salama" and the *Kashfu'l-Mahjúb* "Sálim."

- (37) *Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Yahyá Gawāhān* of Tabríz, d. A. H. 277 (= A. D. 890—1).
- (38) *Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Sahl* of Iṣfahān, d. A. H. 280 (= A. D. 893—4) <sup>1)</sup>.
- (39) *Abū Hamza al-Bazzāz* of Baghdād, d. A. H. 287 (= A. D. 900).
- (773) (40) *Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Naṣr ad-Daqqāq*, d. A. H. 290 (= A. D. 903).
- (From this point onwards only the more notable Shaykhs are mentioned here. The number prefixed to each indicates his position in the series given in the text.)
- (45) *Abu'l-Qāsim Junayd* of Nihāwand, better known as of Baghdād, d. A. H. 297 (= A. D. 909—910). His (774) sayings.
- (776) (58) *Husayn b. Maṣṣūr al-Hallāj*, of Bayḍā in Fārs, put to death at Baghdād, A. H. 309 (= A. D. 921—922) <sup>2)</sup>, during the Caliphate of al-Muqtadir at the instigation of the Wazīr Ḥāmid b. 'Abbās. His execution, and some of his sayings.
- (779) (73) *Abū Bakr Shiblī*, d. A. H. 334 (= A. D. 945—6). Specimen of his Arabic verses. Anecdote of him and a Magian.
- (784) (96) *Abu'l Qāsim 'Abdu'l-Karīm b. Hawāzin al-Qushayrī* of Nishāpūr, author of the well-known treatise (*Risāla*) on Ṣūfiism.
- (97) *Abū Sa'īd b. Abi'l-Khayr*, author of the well-known quatrains, d. A. H. 440 (= A. D. 1048—9) <sup>3)</sup>, aged 89.

1) This MS. has A. II. 208 (= A. D. 823), but the reading adopted, which is that of most MSS. of the *Guzida*, is confirmed by the statement that he died in the time of the Caliph al-Muṭaḍḍid (A. H. 279—289 = A. D. 892—902).

2) The reading "307" in this MS. is evidently an error, for the *Fihrist*, Ibnu'l-Athīr and Ibn Khallikān all agree in the date here adopted.

3) MS. "340", which is certainly erroneous. See the *Nafahātu'l-Uns* and Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, p. 342.

- (99) *Majdúd b. Ádam Saná'i* of Ghazna, the celebrated mystical poet.
- (785) (100) *Abu'l-Qásim Gurgání*, who forbade the burial of Firdawsí's body, and was reproached by the poet's spirit in a dream.
- (103) *Bábá Kúhí*, whose tomb is at Shíráz.
- (106) *Abdu'lláh Anşári*, a contemporary of Abú Sa'íd b. Abi'l-Khayr. His (786) sayings. Malik Sharafu'd-Dín Maḥmúd Sháh 'Injú, who reigned over so large a portion of Persia, claimed to be his descendent (pedigree given).
- (787) (107) *Aḥmad Ghazzálí*, brother of the more celebrated Muḥammad Ghazzálí. Died at Qazwín, A. H. 520 (= A. D. 1126) <sup>1</sup>). Persian verses by him.
- (108) *Muḥammad Ghazzálí*, known as *Hujjatu'l-Islám*, d. A. H. 505 (= A. D. 1111—12) <sup>2</sup>).
- (109) *Háfiz Abu'l-<sup>c</sup>Alá Hasan b. Aḥmad <sup>c</sup>Attár* of Hamadán, d. A. H. 560 (= A. D. 1164—5). Verses about him by Kháqání cited.
- (788) (116) *Awḥádu'd-Dín Kirmání*, the poet.
- (117) *Majdu'd-Dín Baghdádi*, put to death on suspicion of an intrigue with the mother of Khwárazmsháh. After his death Khwárazmsháh repented of what he had done, and went to Shaykh Najmu'd-Dín Kubrá, and asked (789) what atonement would suffice to expiate this deed, to which the Shaykh replied that their lives and the lives of many others would hardly expiate it; a saying presumably held to have hinted prophetically at the fatal results of the impending Mongol invasion. One of Majdu'd-Din's Persian quatrains cited.

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1) MS. "510", but the date adopted is that given by Ibnu'l-Athír, Ibn Khallikán, etc.

2) MS. "500", but see the authorities cited in the last note.

- (789) (118) *Najmu'd-Din Kubrá*, called "*Wali-tarásh*" ("the Saint-carver"). In his whole life he only accepted twelve disciples, all of whom, however, became famous. They included Majdu'd-Din Baghdádí, Sa'adu'd-Din-i-Hammúya <sup>1)</sup>, Raḍiyyu'd-Din 'Alí Lálá, Sayfu'd-Din Bákharzí, Jamálu'd-Din Gílí, Jalálu'd-Din [Rúmi?] <sup>2)</sup>, etc. Chingíz Khán warned Najmu'd-Din to flee from Khwárazm, as he intended to massacre all the inhabitants; but the Shaykh refused to abandon his fellow-citizens in the time of their distress when he had lived for 80 years amongst them in times of prosperity, and perished in the massacre in A. H. 618 (= A. D. 1221—2). Some of his verses.
- (790) (119) *Shihábu'd-Din Suhrawardí*, d. A. H. 632 (= A. D. 1234—5) in Baghdád. One of his Persian quatrains.
- (121) *Sa'adu'd-Din-i-Hammúya*, d. A. H. 650 (= A. D. 1252—3) <sup>3)</sup>.
- (791) (122) *Najmu'd-Din Dáya*, author of the *Mirṣádu'l-'Ibád*, fled to Turkey in Asia at the time of the Mongol invasion.
- (123) *Sayfu'd-Din [Bákharsí]*, d. A. H. 658 (= A. D. 1260). One of his Persian quatrains.
- (124) *Jalálu'd-Din Rúmí*, who fled from Balkh to Asia Minor in the time of the Mongol invasion. He is buried at Qonya. Specimen of his lyric poetry.
- (792) (131) *Shaykh Aḥmad-i-Ṣam*, called "*Zinda-Pil*".
- (793) (139) *Shaykh Rúzbihán*, who is buried at Shíráz.

1) See on the form of this name (often erroneously written "Ḥamawí") note 2 on p. LXiii of the Persian Introduction to vol. i of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-Gusháy* of Juwaynī (vol. xvi, i, of this Series).

2) There seems to be no other authority for the statement that Jalálu'd-Din Rúmí was a pupil of Najmu'd-Din Kubrá, and, for chronological reasons, it is very improbable.

3) This MS. has "658". The date adopted in the text is from Jámí's *Nafahát*.

(145) *Sa'adu'd-Din Qutlugh-Khwāja al-Khālidi* of Qazwīn, where he died, aged 80, in Muḥarram, A. H. 728 (= Nov.—Dec., A. D. 1327). Ghāzān Khān and many of the Mongols were converted by him <sup>1</sup>).

(146) *Ṣafīyyu'd-Din Ardabīlī*.

(147) *ʿAlā'u'd-Dawla b. Malik Sharafu'd-Din Sinuānī*.

(After N<sup>o</sup>. 151, on p. 794, there follows a mere list of names, concerning whom the author has been unable to ascertain any particulars as to date or circumstances. This list extends to p. 796, l. 14, and, with the longer notices which precede, brings up the total number of Shaykhs mentioned to 287). — (796) According to a tradition there are always 300 of God's Saints (*Awliyā*) on earth, of whom 40 attain great, 7 still greater, and one supreme eminence. This last is the *Qutb* or "Pole", the Pivot of the World, and God's Proof to His creatures. On his death he is succeeded by the next in order, and (797) this hierarchy thus exists unbroken. The author puts the total number of Saints whose names are recorded at over 80,000 and possibly as many as 124,000, of whom, for the sake of brevity, he has, he says, enumerated 313, so that there are evidently some omissions in this manuscript and most others. The author ends this section with a bitter denunciation of the Shaykhs and Ṣūfīs of his own time.

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1) According to the *Jāmi' u't-Tawārikh* (Paris MS., Suppl. persan 209, ff. 352b—354a) and Ibn Taghrī Bardī's *al-Manḥalu's-Ṣāfi* (Paris MS., Fonds arabe 2068, f. 28a) it was Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Shaykh Sa'adu'd-Dīn Ḥammūya who was instrumental in converting Ghāzān Khān and some 100,000 Mongol soldiers to Islām. See vol. i of the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahāngushāy* in this series, pp. LXii—LXiii (سب—سج) of the Persian Introduction. It is difficult to account for the discrepancy between these and the *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida*, since the authors of all three works were in a position to know the truth. Perhaps the author of the *Guzida* was anxious to give credit to a fellow-citizen for this achievement.

*Section 5. — Learned men (‘Ulamá) of all sorts.*

(a) *Ráwís* (handers down of tradition) of the Four Orthodox Sects.

(798) One only is mentioned for the Ḥanafí School; four or five for the Málíkí; some 19 or more for the Sháfí‘í, (799) and about the same number for the Ḥanbalí. Next follow —

(b) *Ráwís of the Qurrá or “Readers”.*

Of these 14 are mentioned, two for each of the “Seven Readers”.

(c) *Ráwís of the four chief Traditionists,*  
*viz. al-Bukhárí (800), Muslim, as-Sijistání and al-Kisá’í.*

(d) *Men learned in various sciences arranged alphabetically.*

(Many of these notices also are very exiguous, merely mentioning the name of an author and one of his books, without any date or other particulars. Here also only a selection of the more interesting are given.)

(801) (4) *Imámu’l-Dín ar-Ráfi‘í*, author of several commentaries and works on Jurisprudence, died in Dhu’l-Qa‘da, A. H. 623 (= Oct.—Nov., A. D. 1226). Specimen of his Persian verse.

(5) *Athíru’l-Dín Abharí*, who died a little before the Mongol invasion. His works on philosophy, etc. His Persian verse.

(9) *Qádi Aḥmad Dámghání*, author of the history entitled *Istizhárnu’l-Akhhár* <sup>1</sup>).

(802) (12) *Abu’l-Fath b. Husayn b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-*

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<sup>1</sup>) This is one of our author’s sources: see p. 2 (Nº. 22) *supra*, and p. 8 of the Persian text.

*Isfahání* <sup>1)</sup>, author of the *Dhakhira-i-Khwárazm-sháhi* and the *Khuffiyy-i-<sup>c</sup>Alá'i* <sup>2)</sup>.

(14) <sup>c</sup>*Abdu'lláh b. al-Muqaffa*<sup>c</sup>, translator into Arabic of the *Book of Kalila and Dimna*.

(16) *Abú <sup>c</sup>Alí b. Síná* ("Avicenna"), d. A. H. 427 (= A. D. 1035—6). His works. His Arabic versified translation of the Aphorisms of the physician Barádiq ("Tayáduq" is given as a variant in the margin; he is represented as a contemporary of King Anúsharwán, or Núshírwán, the Sásánian).

(803) Avicenna is rebuked by a crossing-sweeper.

(17) *Abú Ma<sup>c</sup>shar al-Balkhí*, the astronomer, d. A. H. 190 (= A. D. 805—6) <sup>3)</sup>.

(804) (19) *Abú Rayhán al-Birúni al-Khwárazmí*, the astronomer, who wrote the *Kitábu't-tafhím fi't-tanjím* in A. H. 421 (= A. D. 1030), and subsequently the *Qánún-i-Mas<sup>c</sup>údí*.

(20) *Abu'l-Fath al-Bustí*. Specimen of his Arabic verse.

(22) *Abu'sh-Sharaf Násir b. Khalífa b. Sa<sup>c</sup>d* <sup>4)</sup> *al Farbádhaqání*, translator into Persian of al-<sup>c</sup>Utbi's history of Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna (the *Kitáb-i-Yamíní*). He died a little before the Mongol Invasion.

1) The name, *kunya* and *nisba* of this writer are here wrongly given. In the most correct of the Paris MSS. (Suppl. persan 173, f. 277a) they are given as follows: "Sayyid Isma'il b. Husayn b. Maḥmúd b. Aḥmad al-<sup>c</sup>Alawí al-Jurjání". See also the *Chahár Maqála* (vol. xi of this series, pp. 70 and 236—8) where it is given as "Abú Ibráhím Isma'il b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn al-Jurjání". This much at least is certain, that his name was Isma'il and his native place Jurján.

2) See the *Chahár Maqála* (vol. xi of this series), pp. 237—8.

3) An obvious error. According to the *Fihrist* (p. 277) and Ibn Khallikán (s. v. Ja'far) Abú Ma<sup>c</sup>shar died in A. H. 272 (= A. D. 885—6).

4) In the preface to the *Kitáb-i-Yamíní* the translator gives his name as *Násiḥ* instead of *Násir*, and his father's name as *Ẓafar* instead of *Khalífa*. The Paris MS. of the *Guzida* mentioned in the last note but one agrees in the second particular.

- (805) (27) *Badi'uz-Zamán al-Hamadáni*, author of the *Maqámát*.  
 (32) *‘Amr b. Baḥr al-Ḥáhidh*, d. A. H. 255 (= A. D. 869).  
 (33) *Abú Naṣr Isma‘íl b. Hammád al-Ḥawharí*, author of the celebrated lexicon the *Ṣiḥáh*.  
 (806) (44) *Ḥáru’lláh Abn’l-Qásim Maḥmúd b. ‘Umar as-Zamakhsharí*, author of the *Kashsháf*, d. A. H. 588 (= A. D. 1192) <sup>1)</sup>.  
 (50) *Shaykh Shihábu’d-Dín as-Suhrawardí*, called *al-Maqtúl* (“the Slain”), celebrated for his magical powers, put to death in the time of the Caliph Náṣir.  
 (52) *Ṣadru’d-Dín Sáwají*, put to death in the time of Húlágú on suspicion of practising magic.  
 (807) (55) *‘Izzu’d-Dín ‘Alí b. al-Athír al-Ḥazarí*, author of the great history called *al-Kámil*.  
 (58) *‘Abdu’lláh b. Muslim b. [Qutayba]* <sup>2)</sup> *Abí Muḥammad ad-Dinawarí*, the historian, a contemporary of the Caliph al-Mu‘tamid.  
 (60) *‘Abdu’lláh . . . b. Khurdádh[bih] al-Khnrásaní*, author of the *Masálikn’l-Mamálik*, contemporary with the Caliph al-Mutawakkil.  
 (61) *‘Abu ‘Amr [‘Uthmán b. ‘Umar]* <sup>3)</sup>, better known as *Ibnn’l-Ḥájib*, author of the *Káfiya*, the *Sháfiya* and the *‘Arúḍ*.  
 (808) (66) *‘Alá’u’d-Dín ‘Aṭá Malik Ṣáhib-Díwán* <sup>4)</sup>, author of the *Ta’rikh-i-Ḥahán-Gushá*, and brother of Shamsu’d-Dín Ṣáhib-Díwán.

1) The correct date, as given by Ibn Khallikán and Ibnu’l-Athír, is A. H. 538 (= A. D. 1143—4).

2) So in the Paris MS. mentioned above, and in Ibn Khallikán’s Biographical Dictionary.

3) The title *‘Aynn’l-Quḍát* added in the original is an error, arising, as the Paris MS. shows, from a notice, omitted in this MS., of *‘Aynn’l-Quḍát-i-Mayánají*.

4) Here also there are several errors in the name as given in the original.

(67) *‘Abdu’l-Karīm b. Hawāzin al-Qushayrī*, contemporary with Alp Arslán.

(69) *‘Aḍudu’-Dīn Shabānkāra’ī*. There is a tradition that every hundred years some great theologian will arise to strengthen and defend Islām. Of such was the Umayyad Caliph ‘Umar b. ‘Abdu’l-‘Azīz in the first century of the *hijra*; the Imām ash-Shāfi‘ī in the second; Abu’l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Surayj <sup>1)</sup> in the third; Abú Bakr al-Bāqilānī in the fourth; al-Ghazzālī, called *Ḥujjatu’l-Islām*, in the fifth; Fakhru’-Dīn ar-Rāzī in the sixth; and ‘Aḍudu’-Dīn, the subject of this notice, in the seventh. Mention of some of his works.

(70) *Abú Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī “Ḥujjatu’l-Islām”* (“the Proof of Islām”). He is said to have written 999 books. Mention of some of those best known.

(809) (72) *Fakhru’-Dīn . . . ar-Rāzī*, died A. H. 606 (= A. D. 1209—10) at Herát. Chronogram on his death. His works. One of his Persian quatrains.

(77) *Muḥammad b. Farīr at-Ṭabarī*, the historian, died A. H. 320 (= A. D. 932) <sup>2)</sup>.

(78) *Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá ar-Rāzī*, the physician.

(810) (79) *Al-Farrá al-Baghawī*, (810), author of the *Ma‘álimu’t-Tanzil*. Persian quatrain by him.

(80) *Muḥammad b. Yahyá ash-Shāfi‘ī*, killed in the rebellion of the Ghuzz.

(83) *Al-Qāḍī Abú ‘Alī Muḥassin b. ‘Alī at-Tanúkhí*, author of the well-known collection of stories entitled *al-Faraj ba‘da’sh-Shidda*, died Muḥarram, A. H. 384 (= Feb.—March, 994) <sup>3)</sup>.

1) The original has *Shurayh*, corrected as in the text from Ibn Khallikán.

2) The correct date, as given by Ibnu’l-Athír and Ibn Khallikán, is A. H. 310 (= A. D. 922—3).

3) MS. 484, here corrected from Ibnu’l-Athír, Ibn Khallikán and Hájji Khalífa.

- (90) *Abú 'Alí Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bal'ami* (811),  
 (811) translator into Persian of Ṭabari's history.
- (93) *Naṣīru'd-Dīn Ṭūsī*, died 18th of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A. H. 672 (= Jan. 25, 1274) at Baghdád. His writings. Some of his Persian verses.
- (94) *Najmu'd-Dīn 'Alī . . . . al-Kátibī al-Qazwīnī*, author of *ar-Risálatu'sh-Shamsiyya* and other works, a contemporary of Húlágú Khán.
- (95) *Al-Qáḍī Naṣīru'd-Dīn Abú Sa'id 'Abdu'llah . . . . al-Bayḍáwī*, author of the well-known Commentary on the *Qur'án* and other works, died A. H. 685 (= A. D. 1286—7) at Tabríz <sup>1</sup>).
- (97) *Naṣru'lláh b. 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd b. Abu'l-Ma'álí*, a contemporary of Sulṭán Bahrám Sháh the Ghaznawí, author of the Persian translation of *Kalila and Dimna*.
- (812) (102) *Yáqūt al-Musta'ṣimī*, the celebrated calligraphist.  
 (This section contains in all 105 names).

#### Section 6. — Poets.

##### (A.) Arabic poets.

- (1) *Imru'u'l-Qays*.
- (813) (2) *Abú Nuwás*, died A. H. 195 (= A. D. 810—811).
- (3) *Abú Firás*.
- (4) *Al-Mutanabbí*, died A. H. 354 (= A. D. 965) <sup>2</sup>).

##### (B.) Persian poets <sup>3</sup>).

- (1) *Anwarí*, contemporary with Sulṭán Sanjar the Seljúq.

<sup>1</sup>) The original has, erroneously, *Sa'd* for *Sa'id*, and 605 for 685.

<sup>2</sup>) The original has 364, corrected here from Ibnu'l-Athír and Ibn Khallikán.

<sup>3</sup>) Of this section I published a translation, together with the text of all the poems cited, in the *J. R. A. S.* for October, 1900, and January, 1901. This article is also obtainable as a *tirage-à-part*. It is based upon several of the best MSS. of the *Guzida*, and is much fuller than the list here given, for it contains notices of 89 instead of only 63 poets and poetesses. Amongst those here omitted are Azraqí, Asadí, Púr-Bahá-yi Jámí, 'Izzu'd-Dín Gurjí, Fakhru'd-Dín Gurgání, and several others, including most of the poets who composed verses in dialect.

- (814) (2) *Adīb Ṣābir*, also contemporary with the above, drowned in the Oxus by order of Atsiz Khwárazmsháh.
- (3) *Athír-i-Awmání* (Awmán is a village near Hamadán), the panegyrist of Sulaymán-sháh, governor of Kurdistan. He died in the time of Húlágú Khán.
- (4) *Athír-i-Akhsikati* (Akhsíkat is near Farghána in Transoxiana).
- (5) *Imámí* [of Herát]. He was the panegyrist of the Kings of Kirmán, and died in the time of Abáqá Khán.
- (815) (6) *Abn'l-Faraj-i-Zawzaní* <sup>1)</sup>, a contemporary of Maliksháh the Seljúq, and one of Anwarí's teachers.
- (7) *Ibn Kháṭib* of Ganja, a contemporary of Sulṭán
- (816) Maḥmúd of Ghazna (816). His *munázara*, or poetical duel, with the poetess Mahistí (*q. v.*).
- (8) *Awhadí*.
- (9) *Bundár-i-Rázi*, who wrote verses in dialect.
- (10) *Bahá'u'd-Dín Sáwají*.
- (11) *Ḥamálu'd-Dín Rustuqn'l-Qutní* <sup>2)</sup>. He came from near Qazwín and wrote verses in the dialect of that place, and died, aged 90, in the time of Abáqá Khán.
- (817) (12) *Ḥalálu'd-Dín 'Atiqí*, still living in the author's time.
- (13) *Ḥamálu'd-Dín Káshí*, contemporary with Abáqá Khán. His parody of a poem of Sa'dí's.
- (14) *Sayyid Ḥasan* of Ghazna, contemporary with Sulṭán Bahrámsháh the Ghaznawí.
- (15) *'Umar Khayyám*, the Astronomer-poet of Níshápúr.
- (818) (16) *Afṣal'u'd-Dín Kháqání* of Shirwán, died A. H. 582 (= A. D. 1186—7) at Tabríz, and was buried in the "Poets' Corner" at Surkháb.
- (17) *Khawájú of Kirmán*.

1) Other MSS. have *Rúní* (of Rúna) for *Zawzaní*, and this appears to be the correct reading.

2) The original and other MSS. have *Rasíqn'l-Qutní*.

- (18) *Daqiqi*, contemporary with Amír Núḥ the Sámání. He began the versification of the *Sháhnáma* and wrote 1000<sup>1)</sup> verses, which Firdawsí afterwards incorporated in his work.
- (19) *Rafi'u'd-Din Kirmání*, originally of Abhar, a contemporary of Gházán Khán.
- (20) *Ruknu'd-Din*, son of the above, a contemporary and friend of the author.
- (819) (21) *Rhdagi*, contemporary with Amír Naṣr the Sámání. He is said to have written 700,000 verses of poetry. He also translated the *Book of Kalila and Dimna* into Persian verse.
- (22) *Malik Raḍiyyu'd-Din Bába* was governor of Diyár Bakr in Abáqá's reign. Quatrain addressed by him to Shamsu'd-Din Ṣāḥib-Díwán on his dismissal from this post.
- (820) (23) *Súzaní*, contemporary with Sultán Sanjar, noted for his satires and frivolous poems.
- (24) *Sa'ḍí* of Shíráz, who took this *nom de guerre* in compliment to his patron the Atábek Sa'ḍ b. Abí Bakr b. Sa'ḍ b. Zangí. He died on the 17th of Dhu'l-Hijja, A. H. 690 (= Dec. 11, 1291) at Shíráz.
- (25) \* \* \* 2) *Sagzî* (of Sijistán or Sístán).
- (26) *Siráj[u'd-Din] Qumrí*.
- (821) (27) *Saná'i* of Ghazna, already mentioned amongst the Shaykhs (p. 215 No. 99 *supra*), survived until the time of Bahrámsháh. He composed the well-known *Ḥadiqatn'l-Ḥaqíqa*.
- (28) *Shams-i-Káshí*, d. A. H. 602 (= A. D. 1205—6) at Tabríz, and is buried at Surkháb. He collected and edited the poems of Zahr-i-Fáryábí.

1) MS. "3000", but the reading adopted is that of the *Sháhnáma* itself, as well as of other MSS. of the *Guzída*.

2) Other MSS. have *Sirájí*. The word "*bayt*" ("verse") here inserted in this text is an obvious scribe's error.

- (29) *Sharafn'd-Dín Shufurwah* of Işfahán, a contemporary of Sultán Arslán [b. Tughril the Seljúq.]
- (30) *Shamsu'd-Dín Ṭabasí*. There were two poets of this name, one still living in the time of the author, who was a friend of his.
- (31) *Shamsu'd-Dín Káshí*, who died about two years before the author wrote, and was the panegyrist of Khwája Bahá'u'd-Dín Şáhib-Díwán-i-Juwaynî.
- (822) (32) *Zahír-i-Faryábí*, died in Rabí<sup>c</sup> i, A. H. 598 (= March—April, 1192) at Tabríz, and was buried at Surkháb.
- (33) *Fakhru'd-Dín Ibráhim b. Buzurjmihr b. 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár al-Ḥawáliqí*, better known as *'Iráqí*, of Hamadán, died A. H. 686 (= A. D. 1287) at Damascus.
- (34) *'Unşurí*, one of Sultán Maḥmud of Ghazna's court-poets. Anecdote of him, Farrukhí, *'Asjadí* and *Firdawsí*.
- (823) (35) *Farídn'd-Dín 'Atṭár* of Níshápúr, author of the *Tadhkiratn'l-Awliyá*.
- (36) *'Abdu'l-Wási<sup>c</sup>* [*Ḥabalí*], contemporary with Sultán Sanjar the Seljúq.
- (37) *'Imádn'd-Dín Faḡlu'í* (*'Imád-i-Lur*), contemporary with Abáqá Khán. His poetical repartee to Khwája Shamsu'd-Dín Şáhib-Díwán.
- (38) *'Uthmán-i-Máki*, the Qáđí, of Qazwín, panegyrist of the author's cousin Khwája Fakhru'd-Dín Mustawfí. He wrote the *Rađi-náma*, in 5000 couplets, recounting the oppressions he had suffered at the hands of his cousin Mawláná Rađiyyu'd-Dín.
- (824) (39) *Malik 'Imádn'd-Dín Isma<sup>c</sup>íl al-Bukhári*.
- (40) *Firdawsí* (*Abn'l-Qásim al-Ḥasan b. 'Alí*) of Ṭús.
- (41) *Falaki* of Shírwán, panegyrist of Minúchihr king of Shírwán.
- (42) *Quṭbu'd-Dín 'Atiqí* of Tabríz.
- (43) *Kamáln'd-Dín Isma<sup>c</sup>íl* of Işfahán.

- (825) (44) *Mu'izzi*, the panegyrist of Sulṭán Sanjar the Seljúq.  
 (45) *Mubárah-sháh-i-Ghúrí*, the panegyrist of Sulṭán Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Ghúrí.  
 (46) *Mujír i-Baylaqání*, author of a *Sawgand-náma*.  
 (47) *Majd-i-Hamgar* of Yazd, one of the poets patronized by Khwája Bahá'u'd-Dín Šáhib-Díwán-i-JuwaynÍ.  
 (48) *Malik Mahmúd b. Muẓaffaru'd-Dín* of Tabríz.  
 (49) *Najmu'd-Dín Zarkúb*, contemporary with Abaqá Khán.
- (826) (50) *Nizámí* of Ganja, author of the *Khamṣa*.  
 (51) *Nizámí-i-<sup>c</sup>Arudí-i-Samarqandi*, author of the *Majma'<sup>c</sup>n'n-Nawádir* (= *Chahár Maqala* <sup>1</sup>).  
 (52) *Náṣir-i-Khusraw*, called "*Hujjat*" ("the Proof") by the Isma'ílís, a contemporary of the Fátimid Caliph al-Mustansir. He was born in A. H. 358 (= A. D. 968—9) <sup>2</sup>, and is said to have lived nearly 100 years. He wrote the *Rawshaná'í-náma*.  
 (53) *Najíbu'd-Dín Farbádhaqání*, died towards the end of the Seljúq period. The *Book of Bishr and Hind* is one of his compositions.  
 (54) *Náṣir-i-Bajja'í* <sup>3</sup>, Sa<sup>c</sup>dí's contemporary and fellow-countryman.
- (827) (55) *Humám-i-Tabrízí*, also a contemporary of Sa<sup>c</sup>dí.  
 (56) *Rashidu'd-Dín Waṭwát*, a contemporary of Sulṭán Sanjar the Seljúq, author of the *Ḥadá'iqu's-Sihr*.  
 (57) *Abn'l-<sup>c</sup>Alá* of Ganja. His verses against Kháqání.
- (828) (58) *Sa<sup>c</sup>d-i-Bahá*, contemporary with Sulṭán Uljáytú.  
 (59) *Fakhru'd-Dín Fathn'lláh*, brother of the author.

1) See pp. XIV—XVI of the Introduction to the text of this work published in the Gibb Memorial Series, of which it constitutes vol. XI.

2) The correct date is A. H. 394 (= A. D. 1003—4), according to the poet's own statement. See my *Literary History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 226.

3) See Yáqút's *Mu'jamu'l-Buldan*, s. v. <sup>نصیر</sup>.

(829) (60) *Mahsatí*, the poetess.

(61) *Firdaws*, the lady-ministrel.

(62) *Áyisha*, the rhapsodist.

(63) *Bintu'n-Najjáriyya* [or, *Bintu'l-Bukháriyya*].

## CHAPTER VI. — ACCOUNT OF THE CITY OF QAZWÍN, THE AUTHOR'S NATIVE PLACE, IN SEVEN SECTIONS.

(830) *Section I. — How it received its name.*

In the *Kitáb-ut-Tibyán* it is stated that Shápúr I the Sásánian founded the city and named it *Shád-Shápúr*. One of the Sásánians was conducting a campaign against the Daylamís, and a battle was taking place in the Plain of Qazwín. The general in command, seeing a weak point in his ranks, said to one of his officers "*Án kash vín va rást kun*" ("See that crooked thing and put it right"), and the name *Kashvín* (afterwards *Qazwín* and *Qazbín*) was afterwards applied to the town.

*Section 2. — Character and buildings of the city.*

The quarter called Shahrístán is in the middle of the old town built by Shápúr, when he fled from Rúm to Persia. An old fire-temple which once stood by the river is now a monastery for *qalandars*. After the victory which he obtained over the Greeks (831), Shápúr regarded Qazwín with especial veneration, and took great pains to enlarge and beautify the city, but his builders were much harrassed by the Daylamites, and Shápúr, being occupied with the subjugation of the Arabs, was obliged to bribe the Daylamites to keep quiet. The building was begun in the month of Ábán in the year 463 of Alexander, 1178 solar years before the time of writing <sup>1</sup>), the sign of Gemini being in the ascendant. As

<sup>1</sup>) This is obviously erroneous, for the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* was completed in A. H. 730 (= A. D. 1330), and 1178 years before that would give A. D. 152, a century earlier than the reign of Shápúr I the Sásánian.

soon as Shápúr was freed from other preoccupations, he attacked the Daylamites with vigour, subdued them, and treated them with the utmost severity, and the persistent hostility between them and the people of Qazwín dates from those days. Introduction of Islám and conquest and enlargement of Qazwín by Saʿd b. al-ʿAṣ the Umayyad (832). Qazwín again enlarged by the Caliph al-Hádí, who called the city *Madínata Músá* ("the City of Músá", Músá being his own name). This portion of the present town is now called Sanámak <sup>1</sup>).

*Section 3. — Conquest and Conversion of Qazwín.*

Account of the conquest of Qazwín by the Arabs in the *Kitábu'l-Buldán*. Apostacy of inhabitants after first conquest. Second conquest by Abú ʿAbdi'r-Raḥmán al-Hárithí. Genuineness of their subsequent conversion to Islám. In the author's time a few of the inhabitants of the Dastajird quarter were Ḥanafís and Shíʿís, but the vast majority Sháfiʿís, and there were also a few Jews, but no other sect or religion was represented.

*Section 4. — Suburbs, rivers (833), qanáts, mosques and tombs of Qazwín.*

*Suburbs.* — Bisháriyyát; Dashtí; Abhar-Rúdh; Fáqirán.

*Rivers and valleys.* — The rivers are partly fed by the snows on the hills, partly by springs, and are mostly dried up in the summer.

*Qanáts* (Persian *Káriz*), or underground aqueducts. — One in Mubárákábád, made by Malik Iftikháru'd-Dín, and bequeathed by him with a garden to maintain his mausoleum. Originally the whole town was supplied by wells, some of which are over a hundred yards in depth. A *qanát* was made by Ḥamza b. Alyasaʿ, Sultán Maḥmúd's

1) The Paris MS. Suppl. persan 173 has "Sábik" or "Sábak", سَابِك.

governor of Qum and Qazwín. Another is called *Tanfúrí*; a third *Rúdhbárí*; a fourth, in the Dastajird quarter, *Sayyidí*; a fifth, *Khátúni*; a sixth, now the principal one, *Khumár-táshí*; a seventh, *Şáhibí*, in the Abhar quarter; an eighth *Malikí*, in the Abhar, Azraq and 'Urí quarters (834).

*Mosques.* — The *Masjid-i-Fámi*<sup>c</sup>, ascribed to the Imám ash-Sháfi<sup>c</sup>; — the Hānafí Mosque, enlarged by Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Alp Arghún, of which the great arch (*Táq*) was constructed by Khwāja 'Izzu'd-Dín Hānafí; — *Masjid-i-Thawb Báb-Kaná*n, originally an idol-temple, the first building used as a mosque after the conversion of the people to Islám, but held in detestation by the Shí'ites because in Umayyad times 'Alí used to be cursed from its pulpit; — another Mosque (*Masjid-i-Shahr*), originally a Fire-temple; — *Masjid-i-Murádiyán*, repaired by Khwāja Fakhru'd-Dín Mustawfí; — *Masjid-i-Ṭabīb-ábád*, repaired by Khwāja Şadru'd-Dín Ahmad Khálidí; — *Masjid-i-Qáđi Isma'íl*; — *Masjid-i-Máda*, in the Darkh quarter; — a Mosque in the middle of the *bázár* in the Shahrístán quarter; — *Masjid-i-Dahak*; — another Mosque on the road the cemetery, near the *Harwdu'n-Nabí* ("Prophet's Pond") and the *Khánqáh*, or monastery, of Nizámu'd-Dín. — Other less important mosques (835) and tombs.

*Section 5. — Eminent men of different classes  
who visited Qazwín.*

*Companions of the Prophet.* — Bará b. 'Azib, who conquered Qazwín for the Muslims, and whose posterity still exist there, many of them being preachers. — Bakr Zaydu'l-Khayl at-Ṭá'í, who accompanied the preceding. — Sa'íd b. al-Āṣ al-Umawí, who was governor of Qazwín under 'Uthmán. — Salmán al-Fárisí, who took part in wars against the Daylamites. — Abú Hurayra.

*Followers of the Companions.* — Ibráhím b. Yazíd an-Nakha<sup>‘</sup>í; Uways al-Qaraní; Rabí<sup>‘</sup> b. Juthaym al-Kúfí; Sammák b. Makhzama al-Asadí; Sammák b. ‘Abdu’l-Qays, and a third Sammák; (836) Shimra b. ‘Atiyya al-Asadí; ‘Urwa b. Zaydu’l-Khayl al-Hamdání; ‘Ubayd b. ‘Amr as-Salmání; Muḥammad b. Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf ath-Thaqafí; Mazyad b. Kaysán as-Sukkarí.

*Imáms and Caliphs.* — ‘Alí b. Músá ar-Riḍá (the eighth Imám of the Shí‘a); al-Mahdí and Hárúnu’r-Rashíd, the ‘Abbásid Caliphs.

*Shaykhs and Men of Learning.* — Ibráhím b. Shayba of Herát; Ibráhím b. Adham; Ibráhím Khawwáṣ; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzálí; Ḥátim al-Aṣamm; Sufyán ath-Thawrí; Shaqíq of Balkh; Yaḥyá b. Mu‘adh of Ray;

*Kings and Wazírs.* — Faḍl b. Yaḥyá al-Barmakí (837); Isma‘íl b. Aḥmad the Sámání; Ilyás, brother of the preceding, was governor of Qazwín in A. H. 293 (= A. D. 905—6); Ibnu’l-‘Amíd, *wazír* of Ruknu’d-Dawla, came to Qazwín in A. H. 358 (= A. D. 969), and exacted from the inhabitants a price of 1,200,000 *dirhams*; the Ṣáḥib Isma‘íl b. ‘Abbád came several times; Ṭughril the Seljúq, and Maliksháh the Seljúq, who, learning the terror inspired by the Assassins (*Maláḥida*) in the people of Qazwín, appointed ‘Imádu’d-Dawla Túrán b. Alfaqsháh governor, with special orders to check their depredations; Muḥammad b. Maliksháh, during his war with his brother Bar-kiyáruq; Arslán b. Ṭughril remained there some time and took the Qal‘a-i-Qáhira from the Assassins, and named it “Arslán-Gusháy”; his son Ṭughril came there during his wars with Qutlugh ‘Inánj and Qizil Arslán; Sultán Muḥammad [Khwárazmsháh] came there after his defeat by the Mongols, and lodged in the house of ‘Izzu’d-Dín Karímán in the *Kúcha-i-* (838) *Naṭw* (“New Street”), until the Qazwínis guided him to the Island

[of Ābasgún] in the Caspian in which he finally took refuge; the Salghurí Atabek Saʿd-i-Zangí came there when he escaped from Khwárazmsháh, and lodged in the Ardáq quarter, in the house of ʿImáduʿd-Dín Aḥmad, whom he afterwards richly rewarded when he came to the throne of Fárs.

*Kháqáns and Amírs.* — Húlágú Khán, after he had destroyed the Assassins; his son Abáqá Khán with his son Arghún and his *amírs* and captains stayed 18 days in the house of Malik Iftikháruʿd-Dín; Aḥmad Khán, Gaykhátú Khán, Gházán Khán, ʿUljáytú Sultán, and Abú Saʿíd all of them repeatedly passed by or visited Qazwín.

#### *Section 6. — Governors of Qazwín.*

In Sásánian times the governors lived at Sarv-bádh in the summer and at Ray in the winter. In Muḥammadan times, Abú Dujána Simák (839) b. Kharasha al-Anṣarí and Kathír b. Shiháb al-Ḥáarithí were governors for the Caliph ʿUmar; and Saʿíd b. al-ʿAṣ al-Umawí for ʿUthmán. Five successive governors (named) represented ʿAlí. In Umayyad times Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf, who was governor of most of Persia, appointed his son Muḥammad; later Yazíd b. al-Muhallab, Qutayba b. Muslim, and Naṣr b. Sayyár appointed governors. In early ʿAbbásid times the government of Persia was chiefly in the hands of the Barmecides (*Al-i-Barmak*); later came ʿAlí b. ʿIsá b. Máhán and the House of Ṭáhir. In the time of the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim, when the Daylamites were again giving trouble, the author's ancestor (the fourteenth in line of ascent) Fakhruʿd-Dawla Abú Maṣṣúr al-Kúfí, a descendant of Ḥurr b. Yazíd ar-Riyáhlí, was sent there to command the army and administer the province (840) in A. H. 223 (= A. D. 838), and for nearly 200 years his descendents, all of whom bore the title Fakhruʿd-Dawla, were entrusted with these functions. Thus in A. H. 251 (= A. D. 865) they

acted for two years for ad-Dá'í ila'l-Ḥaqq Ḥasan b. Zayd <sup>1)</sup>; then for 38 years for Músá b. Búqá, governor of Persia for the Caliph al-Mu'tazz. For two years after the rise of the Sámání power Ilyás b. Aḥmad the Sámání was governor. In A. H. 294 (= A. D. 906—7) the Caliph recovered his authority and appointed the author's twelfth ancestor in the line of ascent, Fakhru'd-Dawla Abú 'Alí, to this government, which he held for 27 years. When in A. H. 321 (= A. D. 933) the House of Buwayh or Daylam obtained possession of most of Persia, the author's ancestors governed in their name for 100 years. When in A. H. 421 (= A. D. 1030) Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna took possession of 'Iráq, the author's ninth ancestor Fakhru'd-Dawla Abú Maṣṣúr died, and the government of the city passed out of the family, who were charged with the duties of state-accountants, and were thenceforth known by this title, *Mustawfí*, which the author still bore. One of Sulṭán Maḥmúd's courtiers named Kárastí was made governor. (841) How he caused the people of Qazwín to eat "doubtful" meat, so that their prayers might no longer be efficacious, then oppressed them, and was finally killed by them, after he had been governor for rather more than a year. He was succeeded by Ḥamza b. Alyasa<sup>c</sup>, previously governor of Qum, who ruled for more than two years. After him the Amír Abú 'Alí Muḥammad Ja<sup>c</sup>farí and his sons governed for about sixty years. The last of them, Fakhru'l-Ma<sup>c</sup>áli Dhu's-Sa<sup>c</sup>ádát Abú 'Alí Sharafsháh b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ja<sup>c</sup>farí, died in A. H. 484 (= A. D. 1091). His yearly income from his extensive estates amounted to 366,000 *dinárs* in gold. He left one daughter, who lost all this immense wealth, and was reduced to penury, so that she was obliged to live on the charity of others. Reflections on the vicissitudes of fortune. — After the Mongol invasion

1) The MS. adds *al-Báqir*, which seems to be an error. For the genealogy of Ḥasan b. Zayd, see Ṭabarí's Annals, iii, p. 1523, and Ibnu'l-Athír, *sub anno* 250.

of Persia, Mangú Qá'án appointed Malik Iftikháru'd-Dín Muḥammad al-Bukhárí governor (842) in A. H. 651 (= A. D. 1253—4), and he and his brother Malik Imámu'd-Dín Yaḥyá ruled for 27 years. In A. H. 677 (= A. D. 1278—9) the government was given jointly to Husámu'd-Dín Amír 'Umar of Shíráz and Khwája Fakhru'd-Dín Aḥmad Mustawfí. Thenceforth, until the end of 'Uljáytú's reign, the government was chiefly in the hands of the Iftikháris. Sultán Abú Sa'íd Bahádur Khán at the beginning of his reign conferred it on the agents of his mother Gunjishkán Khátún to provide money for her army.

*Section 7. — Tribes and leading families of Qazwín.*

Many of the leading families are of Arab origin. The following are the principal ones:

(1) *Sayyids*, notable here for their piety and learning. Amongst the most eminent were Sayyid Ridá; Sayyid 'Imádu'd-Dín 'Abdu'l-'Azím al-Husaynî an-Naqíb (843); and Sayyid 'Izzu'd-Dín Muḥammad, a friend of Shaykh Jamálu'd-Dín Gilí, one of whose living descendents is the Qádlí Sayfu'd-Dín Muḥammad al-Husaynî, chief judge of Sultániyya and the district (*túmán*) of Qazwín, Abhar, Zanján and Tárímayn.

(2) *'Ulamá* (doctors of Theology). Praised for their orthodoxy and piety.

(3) *Iftikháriyán*. These are the descendants of Iftikháru'd-Dín Muḥammad Bakrî, a descendant of the Caliph Abú Bakr, who studied with the Imám Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá of Níshápúr. His chief living descendent is Malik Iftikháru'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Abú Naṣr, whose accomplishments are enumerated. Amongst others he was skilled in the Mongol and Turkish languages (844), and his pronouncements on the philology of these languages are deemed authoritative by the Mongols. He has translated the *Book of Kalila and Dimna* into Mon-

golian, and the *Book of Sindibád* into Turki. He rose to a high position under Mangú Khán, and enriched Qazwín with many beautiful buildings. His brother 'Imádu'd-Dín Maḥmúd, was governor of Mázandarán, and [another brother], Ruknu'd-Dín Aḥmad, was ruler (*Malik*) of Gurjistán. A third brother, Raḍiyyu'd-Dín Aḥmad, was governor of Diyár Bakr, and was a good poet. Later the family fell into poverty.

(4) *Bázdárán* (Keepers of the Falcons). Their ancestor was Baranghash, falconer of the Caliph al-Muqtafi, who made him governor of Qazwín under the title Muẓaffaru'd-Dín.

(5) *Bashsháriyán*, a wealthy family, to which belonged Khwája 'Izzu'd-Dín Bashshári.

(6) *Hulwáníyán*, originally from the frontier-town of Hūlwán.

(7) *Khálidiyán*, descended from Khálid b. Wa'íd al-Makhzúmí. There are two branches of the family. To the first belonged Shaykh Núru'd-Dín Gíl, ancestor of the Shaykhu'l-Islám Sa'adu'd-Dín Qutlugh- [? MS. Qatl-] Khwája; to the second, which came from Zanján, Şadru'd-Dín Aḥmad al-Khálidí, who was for two years Prime Minister of Persia, and was related to the Şadr-i-Jahán.

(8) *Dabírán*. Of these was Najmu'd-Dín 'Alí b. 'Umar (845) al-Kátibí.

(9) *Ráfi'án*, of Arab origin, descended from Ráfi' b. Khadíj al-Anşári. From them many learned men of note have arisen.

(10) *Zákáníyán*, also of Arab origin, descended from the Banú Khafája. They have in their possession a document (text given) professedly emanating from the Prophet and written in 'Alí's handwriting, dated Muḥarram 7 (year unspecified) and (846) witnessed by Abú Bakr, 'Umar, Salmán al-Fárisí and four others of the Companions. Of this family also there are two branches, to the first of which, eminent in learning, belong Sharafu'd-Dín 'Umar and his son Ruknu'd-Dín Muḥammad, who vigorously opposed the Shí'ites in their endeavours to win over the Mongols to their interest, jour-

neying to Khurásán to see the Mongol Amír Jurmághún and dispute with the Shí'a doctors in his presence. To the second branch, eminent in statesmanship, belonged Şafíyyu'd-Dín Zákání and Nizámu'd-Dín 'Ubaydu'lláh, writer and poet, generally known as 'Ubayd-i-Zákání.

(11) *Zubayriyán*, descended from Zubayr b. Muş'ab b. Zubayr b. al-'Awwám.

(12) *Zádáníyán*, whose ancestor Zádán was a contemporary of the Prophet.

(13) *Shírsádiyán*, whose ancestor was Shírzád son of Shírán, a middle-class sheep-farmer. His son, Hájji Badru'd-Dín, became rich, and was appointed Ulugh Bitikji of Qazwín by Ogodáy Qá'án (847). His son, Húsámu'd-Dín 'Umar, was favoured and promoted by Amír Búqá, and was for some years governor of Fárs.

(14) *Tá'úsiyán*, whose ancestor was Tá'ús b. Kaysán.

(15) 'Abbásiyán, related to the 'Abbásid Caliphs.

(16) *Ghaffáriyán*, of whom was the great Sháfí'í theologian Najmu'd-Dín 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár, author of the *Kitábu'l-Háwí*, who died Muḥarram 8, A. H. 665 (= Oct. 9, 1266), and whose sons are at the present time leading theologians in Qazwín.

(17) *Qaḍawiyán*, descended from Fakhru'd-Dín Fakhr-áward, who held office in the *Díwán-i-Qaḍá* (Ministry of Justice), whence their name.

(18) *Qaráwulán*, a Turkish family, who settled at Qazwín in Mongol times and became very wealthy. They were celebrated for their beauty.

(19) *Karajiyán*, descended from Abú Dulaf al-'Ijlí, who came to Persia in the time of Hárúnu'r-Rashíd, built the city of Karaj, and dwelt there.

(20) *Anasiyán*, descended from Anas b. Málik, included many learned lawyers and theologians (848), but are now extinct.

(21) *Kayá'án*. To this family belonged Mawláná 'Izzu'd-

Dín Abu'l-Faḍá'il, who went to Tabríz and rendered great services in the Khwárazmsháhí troubles.

(22) *Mákániyán*, descended from Mákán b. Kákí of Daylam. His descendant Sadídu'd-Dín Isma'íl b. 'Abdu'l-Jabbár b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz b. Mák became Qáḍí of Qazwín, and this office is still in the family.

(23) *Mustawfiyán* (the Author's family), descended from Hurr b. Yazíd ar-Riyáḥí. (The facts already mentioned about them in the Section on the Governors of Qazwín (pp. 231—2 *supra*) are here repeated in an abridged form).

(24) *Mú'minan*. One of them, the late Táju'd-Dín Mú'miní, was employed by Khwája Shamsu'd-Dín *Ṣāhib Dīwán*. In later life he repented of the acts of tyranny which he had committed and retired to Tabríz.

(25) *Mu'áfá'iyán*. Of these was 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Muḥammad, who was one of the secretaries of Ṭughril Beg the Seljúq. The family is now extinct in Qazwín.

(26) *Marzubániyán*. These inhabit the Dastajird quarter, near the Bágh-i-Maydán (849).

(27) *Nisábúriyán*. These left Nishápúr, their original home, in A. H. 540 (= A. D. 1145—6), at the time of the great earthquake, and amongst those who came to Qazwín was the chief Qáḍí 'Abdu'r-Razzáq. The family is now extinct in Qazwín.

(28) *Búlá Tímúriyán*, descended from Amír Tukush, whose ancestor was Táyáng <sup>1)</sup> Khán, ruler of the Ná'imán. Tukush was chief magistrate (*Shahna*) of Qazwín in the time of Ogodáy Khán. His son, Búlá-Tímúr, from whom the family derives its name, became an Amír and amassed much property, some of which is still in the hands of his son Nuṣraṭu'd-Dín Búqá.

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1) This name is neither clearly nor correctly given in the original, but the correct reading is certain. See Berezine's *Jámi'u't-Tawárikh*, vol. i, p. 138, and the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahán-gusháy*, vol. i, p. 46, n. 3 in this Series.

## CONCLUSION.

Concerning the genealogical trees inserted by Rashídu'd-Dín in his great history [the *Jámi' u't-Tawárikh*]. These, in spite of their excellence and the originality of the plan on which they are constructed, appeared to the Author susceptible of improvement, and are briefly criticized by him. (850) He therefore devised a new and simplified system of such "trees", in which he designed to use various colours as indications, which he briefly explains (850—851), and so ends his book. [The actual trees are wanting in this MS., as in most others which I have examined.]

## COLOPHON (852).

Transcribed by Zaynu'l-ʿAbidín b. Muḥammad al-Kátib ash-Shírází, and completed at noon of the 6th of Ramaḍán, A. H. 857 (= Sept. 10, 1453). Below this is a note in the hand of a former possessor, the Muʿtamadu'd-Dawla ʿAbdu'l-ʿAlí Mírzá, son of Prince Farhád Mírzá (uncle of the late Náṣíru'd-Dín Sháh), dated the 17th of Rajab, A. H. 1313 (= Jan. 1, 1896), and another note in the margin dated Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A. H. 1108 (= June—July, A. D. 1697).



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INDEX OF PERSONS.

- Page ۲. Add ۸۴۷، امیر، الوس.
- Page ۲. After الوس چغتائی add ۵۸۲
- Page ۲۲ Add ۱۰۶، اورمزد بن شاپور.
- Page ۲۲ Add ۴۱۹، پسر وشمگیر بن زیار.
- Page ۲۵ Add رجوع کن به بندار رازی.
- Page ۲۵ Add ۱۱۵، پیلانشاه.
- Page ۷۲ After مقداد بن عمرو بن ثعلبة بن سعد بن عبد الله delete ربيعة الكندی.
- Page ۸۲ After نجاری instead of بخاری read شداد بن اوس.
- Page ۱۰۷ Add ۲۱، عدواسا.
- Page ۱۱. Add ۸۰۸ to the references given under علاء الدین عطا ملک جوینی.
- Page ۱۱۲ After علی بن علاء الدولة بن عطا ملک جوینی، ۸۰۸ add رجوع کن به علاء الدین عطا ملک جوینی.
- Page ۱۱۴ For علی کومیار عقیلی read علی کومیا عقیلی.
- Page ۱۵۴ After والصحيح یزید بن کیسان add مزید بن کیسان.
- Page ۱۵۴ After ازالوس چغتائی delete مسعود بگ بن محمود یلواج.
- Page ۱۵۸ For معرور بن شرید read معرور بن شوید.
- Page ۱۶. Add ۲۱۴، مقداد بن عمرو بن ثعلبة بن ربيعة الكندی.
- Page ۱۶۴ Under موسى add the following references: ۲۲، ۲۱-۱۹، ۹، ۹۰، ۷۸، ۶۷، ۶۶، ۵۱-۴.

فہرستِ ثلاثہ

# کتابِ تاریخِ کربلا

فہرستِ اول : اسماءِ رجال  
فہرستِ ثانی : اسماءِ اماکن و قبائل  
فہرستِ ثالث : اسماءِ کتب و متون

در مطبعہٴ بریل در لیدن از بلاد ہلاند بطبع رسید  
سنہ ۱۲۲۱ ہجری مطابق ۱۹۱۲ مسیحی



# INDICES OF THE TA'RÍKH-I-GUZÍDA

(FAC-SIMILE OF TEXT, VOL. XIV, 1)

COMPRISING :

- (1) Index of names of persons together with an alphabetical list of *nisbas*;
- (2) Index of names of places and tribes;
- (3) Index of books cited;

BY

R. A. NICHOLSON, LITT. D.

*(N. B. The abridged translation contained in this volume, XIV, 2, does not contain all the names mentioned in the text, but since the pages of the original text are indicated by thick figures in the body of the translation, these Indices will serve for the latter, so far as it goes, as well as for the former. As a rule names are given in the Index as they occur in the text, without correction, save when the correction is obvious. Such corrections are, as a rule, indicated. Where several references occur under one heading, the more important are generally overlined).*







